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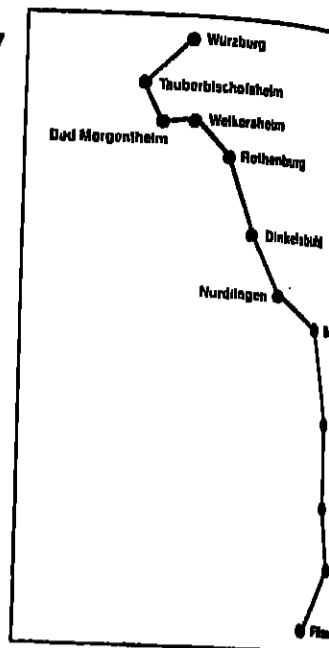
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Voters give Helmut Kohl a decisive victory

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative coalition has won a decisive victory in the general election. The CDU/CSU received 48.8 per cent of the vote compared with 44.5 per cent in 1980. It will have 244 (226) of the 497 seats in the Bundestag. The SPD, under Hans-Jochen Vogel, saw its share of the vote drop from 42.9 per cent in 1980 to 38.2 per cent, and its parliamentary representation drop from 218 to 193. The FDP, which aligned itself with the CDU/CSU last year, goes back with a reduced share of the poll and the Greens are elected for the first time at national level (See table below).

conservative hopes of being able to govern for four years with the FDP have been realised.

Now that this *bürgerliche Koalition* has gained a clear victory in the general election it need no longer worry about the opposition.

How has the time to put its policies into practice. It can continue what it set out to achieve, and it has plenty of time. SPD slogans could not prevent this. The SPD spoke of "social justice" and "redistribution from the bottom", merging into a "policy for the

conservatives' lack of good slogans with political content proved unimportant.

Neither did the missiles issues exert an influence. The SPD Chancellor, Hans-Jochen Vogel, said he had to keep new missiles out of Germany. This was, he said, in contrast to coalition parties, which were intent on putting them on German soil.

The election must also be regarded as a success for the FDP considering

with the Liberals' change of course, the scars of the "betrayal" campaign, the claims that a vote for the Liberals is a wasted vote as they wouldn't get more than the required five per cent anyway, and just a few of the political punches that had to be taken.

The "majority left of the CDU" triumphantly claimed by Willy Brandt when the conservatives failed last year in the election in Hesse, did not happen.

The support for the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition is a vote of confidence in its two main protagonists, Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Above all, voters have given a clear go-ahead to the direction in which coalition policies are moving.

On the one hand, this means policies aimed at overcoming the economic crisis and unemployment by releasing entrepreneurial potential, reorganising government spending and pursuing austerity measures in social-policy fields.

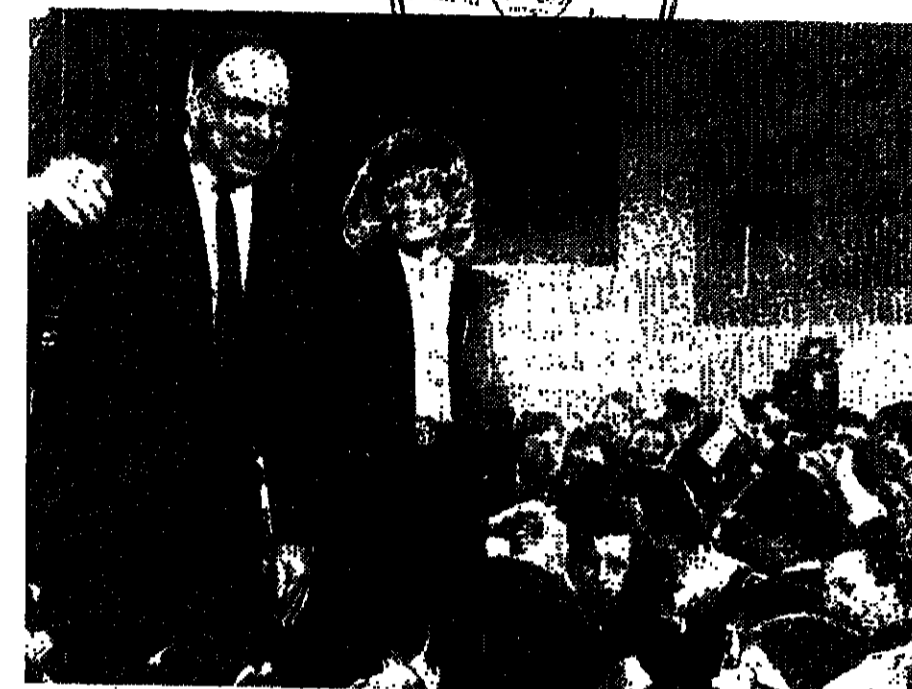
On the other hand, voters would like to see a foreign policy which sets out to maintain security and peace via a balance between East and West and which strengthens the Atlantic alliance, particularly through close ties to America.

Both policy components, balance of power and strengthening the Alliance, are backed by the electorate.

This means that the Federal Republic would agree to new missiles on German soil if the option hoped for in Geneva for land-based medium-range missiles fails because of Soviet disagreement.

This vote is at the same time a public mandate: the Kohl/Genscher government must stick to its security policy unwaveringly, and not give in to the peace movement, no matter how loud its protest becomes.

Johann Georg Reissmüller
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 7 March 1983)



Moment of triumph: Helmut Kohl and his wife, Hannelore.

(Photo: Poly-Press)

The Greens just make it

The Greens have managed to move into the Bundestag. They were optimistic right up until election day despite the growing number of skeptics who believed that they would not clear the compulsory five per cent hurdle.

Forecasts over the past few weeks were not good. They said the Greens had slipped from over eight per cent a few months back to just under five per cent.

The economic programme they adopted a few weeks ago at the special party conference in Sindelfingen had been publicly torn to pieces and the environmentalists found themselves under severe attack from both the CDU and the Social Democrats.

But the leaders, led by Lukas Beckmann, were not put off by the gloomy forecasts.

Their election campaign was quite expensive by their standards (DM 750,000 according to their estimates).

They tried to get their message across to the most important target groups. This would seem to have been successful.

A group of entertainers calling itself the "Green Caterpillar" put on concerts in almost all the big German cities. Udo Lindenberg, Wolf Biermann and Bettina Wegener were just some of the better known stars appearing. This seems to have particularly attracted first-time and young voters.

The intensive second-vote campaign also seemed to have played its part in allowing the Greens to edge into Parliament.

However, the real problems facing the new party in Parliament are still to come.

Election slogans such as "Let the Republic become greener" are not likely to be successful now that the established parties have stepped up their efforts towards environmental protection.

The practical implementation of the rotation principle adopted in Sindelfingen (all Green members of Parliament must be replaced after two years) may come up against legal problems.

The man in the street and the traditional parliamentary parties are already wondering about how the Greens will behave in Parliament.

How will the new party get on with the other parties, particularly with the SPD?

The Greens will now have to reveal their real structure. Will they develop into a proper party? Or will they remain just a movement containing members of different political currents?

Will the Greens make a big adjustment in an effort to push through their ecological objectives? Or will they try to transform society via their "fundamental opposition"?

Their future will depend on the answers.

R. v. Wolkowsky
(Die Welt, 7 March 1983)

IN THIS ISSUE

MANY
Bundestag fire was 50 years
old and still the debate goes on

Page 4

PERSPECTIVE
Stable influence over
West leaders 'must be aim
counter threats'

Page 8

CINEMA
Statement on
German violence

Page 11

It was in after the change of
power in Bonn.

The FDP had to double its electoral
share in a matter of a few weeks to be
in of going back to the Bundestag.
Its goal has been more than achieved.
Although its share of the vote has
fallen considerably.

The FDP has fundamentally changed
changing coalition partner. It is
moving rapidly away from any
liberal ideals it may have had.
The political blood-letting associated

How the parties fared compared with previous polls

	1983 Percent of Poll	October 1980 Percent	October 1976 Percent
CDU/CSU	48.8 (244 seats)	44.5 (226 seats)	48.6 (243 seats)
SPD	38.2 (193 seats)	42.9 (218 seats)	42.8 (214 seats)
FDP	8.9 (34 seats)	10.6 (53 seats)	7.9 (39 seats)
Greens	5.8 (27 seats)	1.5	—
Others	0.5	0.5	0.9
Turnout	89.1	88.6	90.7

A long-serving foreign minister of a major EEC country sees a possibility that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could cause a major clash at the EEC summit in Stuttgart in June. He says she might even leave the conference "under dramatic circumstances."

Gaston Thorn, president of the EEC Commission, sees the possibility of a "severe Community crisis before the end of the year."

Other diplomats and the more far-sighted of the Euro-MPs also speak of severe problems in the offing for the Community.

All EEC governments, the Commission and the European Parliament have in one way or another been instrumental in churning this crisis-bound course.

And since the issues at stake are money and power, they all feel that only a severe tremor will prompt the Community to seek new solutions.

Both Margaret Thatcher and the British Labour Party, which is likely to push for Britain to leave the Community in the general election campaign that will probably be held towards the end of the year, are important factors.

The number one problem is the huge stockpiles of EEC farm surpluses involving such commodities as grain, butter and dried milk.

Portugal and Spain: grapes of wrath

The four-year negotiations about the enlargement of the EEC through the membership of Spain and Portugal have lent a new dimension to the Community's own North-South problems.

The present southern members of the Community (Italy, Greece and the south of France) now insist that the Community owes solidarity first and foremost to its existing members in the south.

As the French see it, the EEC must first concern itself with the existing producers of typical southern farm products before entering the decisive negotiating phase with Spain and Portugal.

No matter how difficult and costly to realise, the contemplated agricultural measures will not be enough to overcome the backwardness of southern regions. As a result, there have for years been demands for a special Community development programme for the Mediterranean regions.

The Commission has in fact been working on such a programme for the past 18 months.

But what has now been presented to the press by the Commission's Italian vice-president, Lorenzo Natali, is both spectacular and meagre.

Incidentally, Natali refused to release the text of the new "Integrated Mediterranean Programme".

And what he did say about it was so vague as to make it impossible to arrive at an evaluation.

He spoke of a six-year programme involving 6.6bn ecu (DM15bn) and mentioned the regions that are supposed to benefit.

But he said nothing about whether the funds are available or whether the money still has to be raised.

He said that the Commission considered that the present financing sources of the EEC would be inadequate for future needs.

There could hardly have been a poorer presentation of a good project.

Carl A. Ehrhardt
(Handelsblatt, 25 February 1983)

THE EEC

Farm surpluses remain centre of concern



The Third World and the Soviet Bloc are short of the foreign exchange they would need to buy the surpluses, causing prices on world markets to take a dip as the USA prepares to dump its even larger farm surpluses with the help of government subsidies.

The net result is that world food prices are plummeting further and further below EEC benchmark prices. And this means that the DM32bn earmarked in the EC budget for the storage and sale of farm surpluses will fall far short of the amount needed.

The higher the Community's agricultural spending the wider for London the gap between its contribution to EEC coffers and the benefits it receives in return. The reason for this is simple: Britain's farmers produce no surpluses worth mentioning.

The number two problem is that Britain was reimbursed DM2bn of the payments it made to the EEC in 1982 in a complicated procedure that involved a supplementary EEC budget for 1983.

The number three problem has to do with the fact that Euro-MPs have come to realise that the issue of British contributions to the EEC has given them the power to force the Community to develop further.

The point is that the European Parliament has considerable powers regarding the budget and could stop future offset payments to London.

So this leaves two approaches still open. On the one hand, EEC farm

spending must be pared down drastically; but this is bound to founder on opposition from France, Ireland, Greece and Denmark, for whom farm exports are vital if they are to keep their balances of trade on an even keel.

Another stumbling block is the Benelux countries which favour another approach, i.e. the assignment of new functions to the Community and the allocation of the necessary funds, in other words, a boosting of the Community budget.

The rejection in the current election campaign of any moves to boost EEC revenues before Spain and Portugal join is the only bit of common ground between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the SPD Chancellorship contender Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Any added German funds for Brussels would have to be provided for by more government borrowing or higher taxation, and none of the political parties is prepared to go that far.

Problem number four has to do with the fact that an equitable ratio between London's contribution to the EEC and the benefits derived from it can only be achieved if Community finances and functions are widened considerably, the EEC Commission said in its mid-February Green Paper.

Though Britain has a below EEC average per capita GNP there are nevertheless poorer Community member nations, the Paper says.

Increased spending by the regional and social funds would enable the Community to tackle new tasks in the field of industry, research, transport and some other areas, but this alone would not provide the strived-for finan-

Genscher still has hopes for Euro Act

pean Act. They can at best be alleviated. It is up to the national governments.

The use of the Community's vast domestic market as a means of restoring international competitiveness has foundered on the subsidies race between the individual member nations and petty protectionism.

The third major problem is the EEC finances. The future Bonn government will have to put its cards on the table during the remaining months of the German presidency of the EEC Council.

The British contribution problems have only temporarily been settled, and the relief of the development of the dollar exchange rate has provided for the financial aspect of the Community agricultural market is also only temporary. The same applies to the current high world market prices.

There is already talk of new vast agricultural farm surpluses that will call for additional export subsidies — and this in turn will aggravate relations with America's agricultural policy makers.

To add to this, the membership of

cial balance between poor and member nations.

The Green paper took some of the sails of Europeanists and cautiously drew the governments' attention to a way out of the British dilemma: Either by a portion of VAT the member nations in relative to their GNP (which go at the expense of Germany, the Benelux countries and the Benelux countries imposing a special levy on the large farm surpluses.

The latter is nonsense because it would hit poor Ireland particularly hard and Paris would in any case never agree to it. But both would be satisfactory to London, so they would reduce Britain's contribution (money paid in minimum received).

One of the more startling facts of the Thatcher government — which finally wanted its contribution to be bled for 1983/84 and the 10 years settled by last November — has been holding its peace since the new Tornado fighter-bomber.

The explanation for this is that the new Tornado fighter-bomber. Since the opposition Labour Party wants Britain to pull out of the Community, Mrs Thatcher has no idea of appointing a watchdog over and planner of Mi-

that it makes much more sense to squeeze the maximum concessions from the EEC partners.

But this cannot be done in the summer or autumn when the Community's farm spending for 1983 will be mated more accurately. Then, Mrs Thatcher will be able to exercise this function but whose demands to maximum levels.

Nobody knows who will win the election and whether the Labour Party will actually pull out of the Community. Behind this search for better planning of the amount of agricultural spending and the Bundeswehr's arms and

None see a swift solution. Those who are gravely concerned in the fact that Greece will assume the presidency of the EC Council in the second half of this year. Erhard (General-Anzeiger Bonn, 14 March 1983)

Portugal and Spain would so EEC budget as to make it necessary to raise the one per cent VAT now member nations now pay in.

Bonn now awaits new signals from the EEC Commission. Since there is no more money, proposals that have only been in the Commission's Green Paper are of little use.

So far, there has been nothing to position to any boosting of the Community's budget.

This is where the concrete lies. Naturally, Genscher's talking do no harm. But — even if it is — it would mean no more than the name of a company that has gone bankrupt.

Eberhard W. (Handelsblatt, 14 March 1983)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Wörner reveals his blueprint for changes at the Defence Ministry



The Bonn Defence Ministry concedes that these figures are not necessarily open to a straight comparison. But pointing to them as a quasi excuse was still unnecessary.

There are 680,000 people working under the aegis of the Defence Ministry — 175,000 of them civilians. Of the 5,300 direct Ministry staffers, 474 are classified as executive staff and 1,300 are specialists in 370 departments.

The memoranda that were prepared for Wörner's latest press conference stressed that criticism of "poor organisation and overstaffing was based on inadequate knowledge of the tasks the Ministry has to perform."

The public must now pin its hopes on the Minister's admission that weak spots exist and that they will be overcome. These weak spots are:

- For a long time there was no "planning rhythm" and no properly thought out concept for the Bundeswehr as a whole and for its individual services. All went well as long as there was enough money, says Wörner.

- Mistakes were repaired through emergency decisions. Neither politicians nor the military stuck to planning blueprints.

- Planning, the budget and armament — the three pillars — were uncoordinated. Too many departments worked independently of each other.

- There was a lack of clarity between the individual functions. The information obligation — i.e. who had to inform whom of what — was ill-defined.

- The powers of the Generalinspekteur were also unclear. This became obvious when ex-Defence Minister Apel clashed with Generalinspekteur Harald Wust. Though the reason for the clash had nothing to do with day-to-day work

at the Ministry, relations between the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the minister remained strained, and Hans Apel always regarded his Generalinspekteur as a problem case.

- When planning, the question as to the price of a project and the cost of future maintenance was frequently ignored. In this last of Wörner's "weak spots", too, the Tornado is a telling example.

Wörner intends to take the following action:

- The entire Ministry work must revert to a strictly planned work rhythm.

- The so-called "planning conference" is to become a new link in the envisaged work chain that will be modelled on industry. The planning conference is to meet four times a year, and two of the meetings are to be attended by the minister.

- There is to be a new "transparency" between budget, armaments and planning to prevent unforeseen developments. (Such unforeseen developments occurred frequently in connection with the Tornado during Hans Apel's tenure, leading to scandals in the Ministry.)

- The Generalinspekteur is to retain his responsibility for planning and planning control. It is necessary to set priorities without at the same time setting restricted quotas for one or the other branch of the armed forces.

- The question as to the cost of a weapons system is to be raised over and over again. Up to now, planners relied on the Bundesrat approving of funds even if the cost of a weapons system had risen considerably since it was first planned. (The last examples here are the navy frigates.)

The entire planning concept must be changed in the future. For financial reasons, the question to be asked will no longer be: "Which is the best weapons system?"

The fact is that the era of technological perfectionism is drawing to an end.

Something for everyone in armed forces library

The 150,000 volumes of the Düsseldorf-based central library of the Bundeswehr is a treasurehouse of information both for scholars of strategic studies and the public.

The library and its 124 branches is part of the international lending library system and can be used free by the public.

The oldest book was printed in Venice in 1471. It contains excerpts from a manuscript on strategy and military affairs. The latest of the publications deals with space warfare. So the range spans five centuries.

As a specialised military library in the service of scientific, occupational and personal information plus further education, the library is about to introduce a computerised catalogue that can pinpoint the whereabouts of any of the 1.8 million volumes kept by the Düsseldorf head office and its branches

nation-wide. The library handles inquiries from all over the world.

One of its other main functions is the publishing of a bibliography of literature relating to strategic studies and military affairs, says the director, Dr Joachim Sack.

Despite its meagre budget, the library subscribes to 530 magazines in 12 languages.

The bibliography published and periodically updated by the library goes to scientific institutions and other libraries throughout the world, except the East Bloc.

The Düsseldorf institution has for some years also been linked through a computer terminal with the Bundeswehr Data Bank and Documentation Centre.

The original stock of the library was made up of five military libraries with material dating back to the 18th century and a very valuable private collection of

The idea is that our soldiers will have to cope with second and third best solutions in terms of technology without any loss of efficiency. Given sound planning, such solutions should be quite feasible.

There is little negative Wörner has to say about Hans Apel's suggestion to appoint a comptroller as the top Ministry planner. "But the idea will not be pursued any further," says a terse Ministry statement. This was prompted by the realisation that many of the top military brass reject the institution of a comptroller — though not in all cases for businesslike reasons.

What Wörner is striving for is less costly improvements that will above all improve the general atmosphere. And since the military establishment rejects the idea of a comptroller, he felt it was best to drop it for the sake of "atmosphere".

The innovations that today appear relatively abstract are likely to become the political topic of the day soon — as the Tornado did in its day.

Since the Defence Ministry budget has remained almost unchanged, there will be hardly any money to buy new weapons systems for any of the three branches of the armed forces.

What is needed is a reshuffle. But how is Manfred Wörner to do this in concrete terms? Is he to spread the purchase of the Tornado, the new Leopard II tank and the new frigates over a longer period of time?

Exactly this is what the conservatives have always rejected, pillorying Apel every time he made a suggestion in that direction.

But there is no alternative to such a move, which means that Wörner could find himself having to do exactly that for which he censured Apel when he was in the opposition.

This in itself makes improved planning mandatory — even if this planning involves only the management of shortages.

In any event, whatever agreement might be reached in the current arms limitation talks, it will provide little relief for the Defence Ministry's strained budget.

Peter Quilly
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 25 February 1983)

17th and 18th century military literature.

The calligraphy and beautiful illustrations of the early works make the library an important cultural institution.

There is a heavy demand for old army regulations — not because of their curious text but for the practical information they provide for museums and collectors, enabling them to reconstruct military history through the painstakingly exact regulations and descriptions.

Several years ago, the library staff indirectly became lifesavers when a staff member of the Düsseldorf aquarium was bitten by a tropical fish. Doctors remembered that an American navy magazine had published information on this particular type of poison. The library quickly found the article and the victim survived.

The library even deals with such apparently non-military subjects as ornithology, which is important not only to military but also to civilian air traffic, especially with regard to migratory birds that can pose a hazard to aviation.

Information from Düsseldorf has sometimes been decisive in the siting of new airports.

Karlheinz Welkens
(Rheinische Post, 23 February 1983)

Reichstag fire was 50 years ago and still the debate goes on

Late in the evening on February 27, 1933, Berliners were startled out of their sleep by the sound of howling sirens.

The Reichstag was on fire. During the night German radio broadcast excited reports on the fire.

At the scene, the police had arrested a Dutch journeyman by the name of Marinus van der Lubbe, whose activities and behaviour that evening seemed to leave no doubt as to his guilt.

For the National Socialists this was a clear-cut case; van der Lubbe was a pawn in the Communist-socialist plot to overthrow the new government.

A little less than one week before the

'New evidence uncovered'

A former American prosecutor during the Nuremberg war crimes trials says that he has traced new witnesses to the fire which burnt down the Reichstag in 1933. Former prosecutor Kempner, now a lawyer in Frankfurt, has given the names to the West German Federal Supreme Court with the aim of getting a retrial.

No decision has yet been made. Kempner has been trying for years to get a retrial in the interest of the brother of the man accused at the time of committing the crime, the Dutchman Marinus van der Lubbe, who was subsequently executed.

Kempner had to appeal to the Federal Supreme Court because the higher regional court in Berlin had decided on December 20, 1982, that a retrial was not permissible, since West Germany's knows no succession court for the Reichsgericht.

This decision is "at least rather curious" as it runs contrary to another decision taken by the Federal Supreme Court, which is not however regarded as binding by the court in Berlin.

Kempner, who questioned Göring on the Reichstag fire during the Nuremberg trials, now states that Göring admitted that there was no investigation into the cause of the fire. Hitler had said that the Communist set it alight and Göring was instructed to tell this to the press.

At least this was the version Göring told Kempner in October 1945 in Nuremberg.

The two new witnesses are the former head of the Gestapo, Rudolf Diehl, and a war-time comrade of Göring, who claims to have heard a "confession" by the Luftwaffe Captain (and later General) Loerzer.

According to Kempner, Diehl already stated years ago that Göring organised the burning of the Reichstag. Van der Lubbe was just "a poor little devil".

On the very next day after the fire Loerzer admitted to the other witness in the Berlin Aeroclub that the SA

"I don't know what all the guessing is about; my former fellow Luftwaffe pilot Göring told me to set fire to the place, and I was helped by a few members of the SA."

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 February 1983)

SONNTAGS BLATT

last multi-party election to the Reichstag (March 5, 1933), the NSDAP had at last found rousing material to back their election slogan "Fight the Marxists!"

Hitler's party, opposed to democracy, declared itself to be the spokesman of the moral indignation at the attack on the symbol of Weimar parliamentarism.

At long last they had found a pretext for putting their extensively prepared programme of arrests into practice.

Early in the morning on February 28, 1933, about 4,000 Communist and Social Democratic party officials, journalists and writers were taken into party or police custody, usually in a most brutal manner. The unrestrained torrent of Nazi propaganda was to show its ugly face during the course of 1933.

Despite great pressure by the political police, the Leipzig trial on the burning of the Reichstag ended with a verdict of not guilty in December 1933. The four main (Communist) defendants were released from prison, one of them being the KPD party whip in the Reichstag, Ernst Torgler.

The German Supreme Court at the time was not able to place the responsibility for the fire at the doorstep of the KPD or the NSDAP.

To attempt the latter would undoubtedly have endangered the lives of the judges themselves.

However, not only left-wing circles but also the Conservatives had considerable reason to suspect the Nazis as being the real culprits.

No-one put it past them. On January 31, 1933, for example, Goebbels had stated that "the Bolshevik attempt at revolution would have to flare up first" so as to be able to crush the political enemy.

The suspicion centred on the fact that it was virtually impossible for one individual to have set the whole Reichstag alight.

Rumours spread that an SA commando had entered the Reichstag via an underground passage leading from the palace of the Reichspräsident, where Göring lived, to the Reichstag building itself and then set it alight.

Although there is no general agreement on who committed arson in this case, historical research increasingly tends to support the more simple likelihood. This would mean that van der Lubbe alone, in attempt to provide a signal against Hitler's course of terror and warmongering, had committed the crime.

However, the historical and political significance of the date February 27, 1933, is not solely concerned with the question of criminal responsibility for the fire.

More important was the capital made out of the situation by the National Socialists. For Hitler, supported by a resolution passed by the cabinet, obtained an emergency "Decree for the Protec-

Open dissent cost White Rose students their lives

Forty years ago, on February 22, 1943, Sophie Scholl, her brother Hans and their friend Christoph Probst were sentenced to death in the Plötzensee prison in Berlin.

"Our nation stands shaken at the tragedy of Stalingrad; 330,000 German soldiers were sent to their doom as a part of the brilliant strategy of the warmongering lance corporal. We thank you, our Führer... The name of Germany will remain dishonoured for ever unless German youth rises, takes revenge and expiates, crushes its tormentors and sets up a new spiritual climate in Europe..." (taken from a leaflet by the "Weisse Rose" (White Rose)).

Hundreds of these leaflets were distributed on the steps of the Munich university on February 18, 1943.

Unfortunately, the university porter saw what was going on and bolted the university doors so that no-one could escape.

He then alerted the Secret Police. The police were fast to arrive and came across the two suspects Hans and Sophie Scholl who after being identified were put under arrest.

Hans Scholl (born in Ingersheim near Crailsheim in 1918) and Sophie Scholl (born in Forchtenberg near Heilbronn in 1921) had grown up in Ulm.

Their father was mayor of the town. Full of fascination, they joined the Hit-

Vorwärts

ler Youth, or the Association of German Girls as the case may be, in 1933, just like thousands upon thousands of their peers.

However, disillusionment soon came. Above all, the totalitarian demands made which ran contrary to any individual emotional feelings soon created a sense of inner rejection within the two youngsters.

Soon, they were no longer able to hide it. Their open support for the ideals of the "free youth movement", for example, led to their temporary arrest in 1938.

A soldier since the outbreak of war, Hans Scholl was granted leave in 1941 to take up studying medicine at the University of Munich.

His sister joined him the following year, and enrolled in the subjects biology and philosophy.

Influenced by the atrocities in the concentration camps, the mass deportation of Jews, the crimes by the SS in the occupied territories and the measures taken by the regime against churches of both denominations, they soon found

tion of the People and the State Reichspräsident von Hindenburg February 28, 1933.

The "Reichstag Fire Decree" was called, removed the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Weimar constitution and re-introduced the penalty for high treason, arson, sabotage.

Yet contrary to all legal principles further law, issued after the decree, was committed, was needed to sentence van der Lubbe to death.

He was sent to the guillotine on January 31, 1934. The National Socialists used the Decree to justify their terror.

Now they had the legal basis required to ban all press material by the Communists and Socialists only days before the election.

This enhanced their influence in election campaign and increased intimidation.

The indignation of the people was blown up out of all proportion. The government was able to ignore actual issues in policy-making through unpopular measures and the general public being fully aware of what was happening.

The Reichstag fire and its consequences perhaps represent the most important step on the way to Nazi power. The "street" had been won with the help of Conservatives and clausal political power obtained on May 30, 1933, a climate of "legal uncertainty" had been created.

Together with the permanent emergency, this paved the way for the Enabling Act (Ermächtigungsgesetz) on March 23, 1933, which provided a legal support for the phase of uncertainty.

Eckard (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 27 Feb.)

contact to similarly-minded people such as Alexander Schmorell, Christoph Probst and Wilhelm Gumbert. The picture was rather different in professors Theodor Haack, Muth and above all Kurt Huber, philosophy faculty.

Most of the meeting of the workers were held in Schmorell's flat. Movement will go down in the history of the German resistance movement. Die Weisse Rose.

This group soon agreed to clenching of fists in the pocket was not enough.

Their activities concentrated on planning, duplicating and distributing leaflets — to begin with at the University, and finally, in January, in Augsburg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Linz, where about 7,000 leaflets were handed out.

This all came to an end on February 18, 1943. Huber, Haack, Schmorell and Graf were arrested. Weeks later, but Hans and Sophie Scholl were transported to Berlin, following their arrest, obliged to go before the People's Court on February 22.

The death penalties were pronounced in all three cases. Three were executed on the same day, 5 p.m. in the Plötzensee prison.

Next day, a small note was in the German newspapers. Goebbels personally: it talks of "nervous persons" who had been more than to "die in dishonour".

Eckard (Vorwärts, 24 Feb.)

PUBLIC ATTITUDES

The once-unloved businessman slowly loses the exploiting-villain image

The election campaign has thrown up the businessman again as the enemy of the nation. According to the trades union federation, the DGB, the business community is threatening democracy.

And the SPD party leader, Willy Brandt, says: "Big money is rallying forces against the workers."

But opinion polls suggest that these views are not shared by the population at large.

The old truism (taken from a German secondary school textbook) to the effect that the boss rakes it in while the workers sweat it out seems to be a favourite of educationists.

These intellectuals, whether they are genuine or merely self-styled, are quick to generalise their economic wisdom and apply it to every businessman or executive.

But most people have different ideas. While the businessman is not exactly idolised, his public image has been improving steadily.

It is an image that fluctuates with the ups and downs of the economy and there is still room for improvement. But there is no longer seen as the villain that electioneers try and depict him as. It is surprising that even young people don't agree with the textbook image of the businessman.

Despite or perhaps because of the economic woes the entrepreneur's image has changed. What has happened is that prejudices have been broken down over the past three decades.

Opinion surveys in 1950 showed that 60 per cent of respondents said that all the businessman thought of was profit. Only 16 per cent thought he had any sense of social responsibility.

The picture was rather different in 1976: 39 per cent admitted that he had. In 1980, 38 per cent thought he had and 41 per cent that he hadn't.

The pollsters also found out that the workers were becoming less keen to change places with the boss.

In 1980 two-thirds would not change places and only one-third considered the businessman's independence worth giving for.

It also turned out that young people's satisfaction with the existing economic order rose in direct proportion to the level of education.

Opinion polls in 1973 and 1979 and involving young people between the ages of 15 and 19 came up with some interesting facts:

In 1979, 66 per cent considered that businessmen do run high risks commercially; the figure was 53 per cent in 1973.

In 1979, 45 per cent agreed that businessmen earned a lot but that they did not work harder than other people (1973: 35 per cent).

Asked whether businessmen said they were worse off than they were in the past, 66 per cent answered yes in 1979 (1973: 50 per cent).

But there still remains a great deal of scepticism among young people. They do not approve of free enterprise more than a planned economy but are not clear about the way it functions.

This is shown by their ideas about business profits.

good" opinion of their company's management.

The depiction of the businessman in the media reduces the entrepreneur to the "empire boss" or at best the "banker with bowler hat, cigar and double chin".

The media cliché ignores the vast majority of small and medium-sized businessmen who work a 60-hour week and are personally liable for their businesses. It would appear that the media are convinced that depicting these small and medium-sized businessmen would only confuse preconceived notions.

But even on an international scale the businessman is not among the most highly regarded people. A comparison of his image in ten countries puts him in place 11 out of 16 occupations.

The doctor holds an uncontested first place, followed by the clergyman, the lawyer, the university professor and the elementary school teacher.

The main problem in rectifying the picture of the businessman is the businessman is the widespread view that profits and a sense of social responsibility exclude each other.

People find it hard to understand that only those who make a profit can do something for society as a whole.

Peter Gillies (Die Welt, 24 February 1983)

Quality of both life and work is aim of new breed of firm

Nordwest-Zeitung

make window frames we would accept it although this is not our line of business. We would simply pass the order on to somebody who specialises in this sort of thing."

ASH not only makes arts and crafts products; it also buys and sells them.

The small firm also sells and lends literature on environmental protection and the preservation of natural resources. ASH is a registered company with five separate areas of activity.

Another alternative project is now being planned in Garrel. The initiators are two the electricians in their 20s. They are planning to run a workshop with emphasis on alternative types of energy — primarily the solar variety. They will operate with two glassworkers who are planning to start a glazery in the same building, specialising in leaded glass.

Self-realisation at work is the aim. All four are to have equal say and they will live together. The businesses will start as soon as the workshops have been renovated.

One says: "I don't want to work under a boss. In the sort of collective enterprise we have in mind nobody gets pushed around."

The type of equality to be practised in the two workshops could be applied to larger firms as well. Shops employing

All opinion surveys show that the wrong picture of the entrepreneur is caused by disinformation. The better informed a respondent in these surveys and the more involved in business, the more realistic is his assessment of the boss.

The revival of certain clichés as a means of fueling the election campaign will therefore prove a flop with the very people that matter. The citizen has made it clear in opinion surveys that the motheaten class struggle clichés are not worth taking out of the cupboard.

It is impossible at this stage to answer the question as to whether an economic boom makes the entrepreneur more likeable than a slump does.

He is seen as "likeable" in boom years because he secures jobs and pays high wages (out of his high profits).

But by the same token, it has also been said in boom times that the entrepreneur refuses to raise wages and (ring) benefits although he could — allegedly — easily pay for them.

In a slump, the public is bound to discover that there is a connection between profits, investments and jobs. But this does not prevent some people from making the entrepreneur bear all the blame for inevitable layoffs.

It was former DGB boss Heinz Oskar Vetter rather than some captain of industry who said: "It is more difficult now than ever before to be an entrepreneur."

This is a bit of sound information that deserves to be spread.

Peter Gillies (Die Welt, 24 February 1983)

15 to 20 people are still easy enough to oversee to make such equality feasible.

Many of these alternative businesses have financial problems. There is hardly a bank that will give them credit since virtually none of them can offer any collateral. Netzwerk Selbsthilfe, an organisation promoting alternative projects, tries to help where possible.

The organisation, which is financed through contributions and membership dues and has been in existence since 1978, now has more than 30 branch offices.

Netzwerk provides two types of financial assistance: subsidies for social projects and interest-free loans for businesses.

To qualify, the projects must practise democratic self-administration and must not strive for individual profit. They must experiment with alternative life and work styles, must cooperate rather than compete with similar projects and prove their economic feasibility over an extended period.

Decisions on assistance are made by a committee consisting of elected people who are themselves engaged in alternative projects.

The amounts involved are usually relatively small (between DM4,000 and DM5,000) and not enough to wholly finance a workshop.

Netzwerk therefore also runs a counselling service on business administration, providing advice on various legal setups, sources of financing and book-keeping.

"We frequently find a lot of enthusiasm for a particular type of craft and the desire to organise the work differently from the traditional methods. But the projects often fail for lack of knowledge about business methods, taxation, etc. The counselling service tries to help overcome this," says Netzwerk's Guido Fritz.

Karin Gätig (Nordwest-Zeitung, 26 February 1983)

FINANCE

After Bretton Woods — as seen by Bundesbank chief

The author, Karl Otto Pöhl, is president of the Bundesbank. In 1973, together with the then Bundesbank President Oskar Emminger, he played a major role in the negotiations that ultimately led to floating exchange rates.

It is exactly ten years since 1 March 1973 when the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates that had been established some 25 years earlier collapsed for good.

Following the examples of a number of other central banks, the Bundesbank discontinued its intervention on foreign exchange markets, having had to buy no less than \$2.7bn on a single day, which at that time was the equivalent of DM7.5bn.

This was the biggest amount ever to have been bought or sold by a central bank on a single day. It also spelled the dramatic end to a crisis that had wracked the international monetary system for years.

Widely differing developments in the major industrial countries and above all the inflation of the dollar, the key currency in the system, became incompatible with the maintenance of fixed exchange rates, the more so since it proved unfeasible to correct exchange rates that had become unrealistic in time.

The Bundesbank was one of the main victims of the fixed-exchange rate system and its shortcomings. This resulted in a massive capital influx into Germany, which led to an intolerable inflation of the domestic money supply.

Between the end of January and the beginning of March 1973, some DM24bn in foreign currency flowed into the Bundesbank.

Neither administrative curtailments of the capital flow nor skimming off of the added liquidity created by constant foreign exchange purchases could in the long run stop this importation of inflation.

To rid itself of the obligation to buy foreign exchange and to let the Deutschmark float had thus become an absolute necessity for the Bundesbank.

The world monetary system and Germany's anti-inflationary policy would probably have been spared a lot of trouble had the world summoned the courage to depart from the Bretton Woods system as early as 1971.

The Deutschmark exchange rate had been permitted to float temporarily at the time. But it proved impossible to induce the other EC countries to agree to a common notation against the dollar.

After the United States abolished the gold standard for the dollar in 1971, there was an attempt to return to fixed exchange rates in the form of the Smithsonian Agreement.

The final decision to let currencies float in March 1973 was immediately followed by drives to regain monetary stability, which had become gravely endangered.

The Bundesbank raised the rates for short-term bank refinancing drastically — to as much as a peak of 16 per cent — thus skimming off liquidity.

In May 1973, the Bonn government decided to embark on a stabilisation

programme to buttress the Bundesbank's measures.

Due to the regained monetary autonomy, the Bundesbank succeeded in subsequent years in uncoupling its own currency from the international inflation convoy that was rapidly gathering momentum after the 1973 oil price explosion.

But it soon turned out that it was impossible to simply ignore exchange rates even in a floating system.

Eventually, even the United States had to depart from its attitude of "benign neglect". Adherence to such an attitude would have been even more disastrous for a country as deeply involved in foreign trade as the Federal Republic of Germany.

The more successful Germany's anti-inflationary policy, the more attraction did the Deutschmark gain as an investment currency. This made it inevitable — though unintended — for the Deutschmark to become the second most important investment and reserve currency while faith in the dollar plummeted.

The net result showed in the late 1970s when the Deutschmark was greatly overvalued on international foreign exchange markets, endangering the competitiveness of this country's exports.

At the height of the dollar crisis in 1978, the Bundesbank had no choice but to tolerate exceeding the money supply target because any further increase of interest rates and skimming off of liquidity would have aggravated the crisis on the foreign exchange markets still further.

The Swiss central bank pursued the same policy and there were times when the dollar exchange rate against the Deutschmark was as low as 1.72.

The subsequent phase of high current account deficits also made it impossible to ignore the development of exchange rates.

Though there was no shortage of good advice from economists and money experts, the consequence of letting exchange rates go where they may would probably have been loss of confidence in the Deutschmark and — as a vicious circle resulting from it — inflation and devaluation.

There were plenty of deterring examples of this in the 1970: the pound sterling crisis in 1976 and the dollar crisis in 1977/78, to mention but two.

We owe our balanced current account, our tolerable inflation rate and interest rates that are lower than in most other industrial countries to the fact that the Bundesbank paid the necessary attention to the development of exchange rates in its overall policy scheme.

In any event, flexible exchange rates do not mean that monetary policy and economic policy in the broadest sense are mutually exclusive and that they ban limit themselves to domestic necessities.

There will be tense situations in the future as well — situations to which our monetary policy will have to respond with pragmatism and flexibility.

Nobody can assess the cost of the depreciations and appreciations that have occurred in the past, but it is bound to be considerable. The more so considering that some of the exchange rate fluctuations did not serve to adapt to changed fundamentals but were the result of speculative capital movements.

The call for more stable exchange rates can therefore be heard time and again. In fact, there are even those who advocate a return to the Bretton Woods system.

The question is: How can the exchange rates of the most important currencies be stabilised?

Experience over the past ten years has shown that even massive central bank intervention has only a limited effect.

For instance: The Bundesbank spend no less than DM27.6bn in 1980, depleting its reserves, without having been able to stop the depreciation of the Deutschmark.

Cooperation

The central bank of Japan had a similar experience in 1982.

Even so, it would be wrong to go overboard and discontinue intervention on foreign exchange markets. I still consider it meaningful for central banks to cooperate closely in an effort to prevent erratic exchange rate fluctuations — or at least to dampen them.

Administrative controls of the capital flow are unlikely to do any good. In fact, they are not even feasible for such international currencies as the dollar and the Deutschmark. Moreover, they would not only spell the beginning of the end of the free flow of money and capital but in the long run also of the free flow of goods and services.

The Federal Republic of Germany has therefore decided against such administrative controls even at times when the Deutschmark was under considerable pressure and depreciating.

In the final analysis, more stable exchange rates can only come about if the major industrial countries gear their economic, fiscal and monetary policies to the same basic principles.

We are closer to this today than we were in the 1970s, especially with regard to inflation rates that are now rather similar in the USA, Britain, Japan and Germany.

Even so, it would be unrealistic to expect a return to fixed exchange rates against the dollar in the near future. There is simply too much risk that uncontrollable capital movements would eventually explode such a system.

Arriving at a common policy of stability, fiscal solidity and foreign trade balance in the major industrial countries is much more important than formally introducing a system of fixed exchange rates.

By pursuing such a policy governments and central banks could contribute most towards stabilising the world monetary system and thus creating an important precondition for economic growth and more jobs.

Karl Otto Pöhl
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 1 March 1983)

Schmidt urges a halt to protectionism

Western industrialised countries should avoid introducing protectionist measures for the time being. They also must try to reduce interest rates, says former Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

This would be part of a united effort of preventing the world from slipping into a sustained depression for the second time this century.

He called on the industrialised countries who are to hold an economic summit in Williamsburg, USA, to shake off lethargy and take coordinated action to get the world economy off the ground. Herr Schmidt's views appear in a long essay published simultaneously in several European and Japanese newspapers.

It was up to the USA to take the lead in reducing interest rates worldwide for no other reason because of its economic weight.

But America's leadership rested with the fact that it could afford to disappoint the faith of the world and put in it. Nor could it afford to undermine this faith through a pitched battle over principles.

America must not create the impression in Europe that it was the consumer's expense (in other words, push the Soviet Union and the communist states against the wall).

The Europeans know, Schmidt stressed, that the free flow of goods and services is the only way to achieve a world-wide depression.

Preparations for concerned nations that will meet in Williamsburg must start immediately.

The most pressing thing would be to reduce real interest rates "because this is what we would inevitably be forced to do in a world-wide depression."

Countries that had managed to boost their inflation under control could boost the world economy by growth-oriented policy.

"Additional investment, growth, employment promotion would be possible in the Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, but would have to be coordinated with other nations because nothing is achieved with unilateral national measures alone."

As Schmidt sees it, the minimum demand to be placed on the world would be a binding undertaking by participants not to introduce national protectionist measures in the next 24 months.

In addition, Schmidt called for stable exchange rates, even closer cooperation among central banks, and the lines of credit granted by the Third World, a strengthening of the International Monetary Fund, and a reduction of ideological tensions in the South dialogue and stabilisation of Third World export earnings.

In the field of energy policy, Schmidt suggested the conclusion of an international agreement on nuclear waste.

He said that the threat from international growth must be dealt with on the international plane.

Heinz Mehnert
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 February 1983)

BUSINESS

Case of the tranquiliser that caused palpitations

ing competition. All industry was prepared to concede was that the abuse of cartels should be punishable by law.

But this is all water under the bridge. Erhard had to make a number of concessions, but prevailed in essence.

The business community has meanwhile come to terms with the monopolies legislation, and the cartel office has been exercising its watchdog function as well as it can, incensing the public whenever a major price-fixing deal is uncovered — as recently with the construction industry.

The ban on resale price maintenance has met with general public approval.

But the constant improvements of legislation against unfair competition has also caused new problems. While legislation allows cooperation between small and medium companies within certain limits, it has been stiffened for huge, market-dominating companies and groups of companies.

There are those who argue that cartels are not the only obstacle to free competition. Powerful individual companies can also be a danger. The general view is that a healthy blend of companies of differing sizes is the best guarantee of free competition in the long run.

Though economists have clearly proved that an oligopoly (i.e. a handful of major companies dominating the market) can paralyse competition, there

is also the fact that a few huge companies can be forced to fight it out, and so live up to competition.

The development of the German monopolies legislation shows that the lawmakers have become increasingly wary of concerns that dominate the market.

This led to more stringent supervision and to merger controls.

The ideas was to prevent companies with a dominant market position from abusing this and to nip all attempts to eliminate the competition in the bud.

Even 25 per cent equities in another company fall under the merger provisions and can be turned down by the cartel office if this is likely to create or increase the domination of the market.

The target of the office's watch over abuse has also changed. The main objective in earlier years was to protect the consumer from excessive prices (as in the case of valium and librium).

(Today, the office pays equal attention to protecting small and medium sized firms from being overpowered and driven off the market by the giants.)

This explains why the Office concentrates on both excessively high and excessively low prices.

Deliberate price cutting and discounts granted to major buyers, the Office says, could have as disastrous an effect on competition as price hikes.

Though price cuts benefit the consumer initially, the picture changes once the market has been taken over by an oligopoly.

In keeping with this concept, the cartel office under its president, Wolfgang Kartte, has now stopped the Hanover-based Schaper Group from taking over five branches of a Dürren discount firm. But the courts still have to rule on the move.

Kartte never tires of stressing that mergers in the retail business must be stopped.

The seven giants (Edeka, Rewe, Aldi, Co op, Metro, Tengelmann and Schaper) now account for 50 per cent of food sales in this country.

The reason given for the ban on the Schaper merger is that the five leading companies in Dürren would form an oligopoly that would control 70 per cent of the local market.

What an oligopoly boils down to is that its members do not compete with each other.

But both Schaper and the company to be taken over by it are trying to challenge this contention.

And indeed it seems most unlikely that the other members (Aldi, Altkauf and Stüssgen) would spare each other on the market and concentrate on driving smaller competitors out of business.

One of the controversial issues in merger control proceedings is whether or not the companies involved can dominate a market to the point where they no longer have to fear competition.

Large companies frequently contend that the yardsticks applied by the cartel office are too theoretical.

The office, on the other hand, deplores the fact that it is pretty powerless against mergers — especially in the retail business.

Industry complains that the office's attention is riveted on the domestic market and disregards the fact that the



Cartel office's Wolfgang Kartte... 'retail mergers must end.' (Photo: Sven Simon)

companies concerned have to compete on European and world markets as well.

Kartte, on the other hand, points to the "anguished cries of those small businessmen who are being strangled by the big fellows."

Many things look less grim in retrospect than they were at the time when the office had to arrive at a decision.

For example, its go-ahead for the merger between the Neckermann mail-order company and the Karstadt department store chain. Today it is quite obvious that the merger with a loss company has hardly strengthened Karstadt.

The perspectives in the Grundig consumer electronics company have also changed.

When Grundig was doing well and making a bid to take over its competitor, Saba, the cartel office stopped the deal, saying that the merger would give Grundig too much weight on the market.

Now the French Thompson-Brandt concern is making a bid for Grundig, which itself needs a reliable partner.

All this does not mean that the impact of mergers should be minimised. But the cartel office must not see its function solely in protecting medium-sized companies.

Ultimately, the only yardstick of competition is the ability or otherwise of our industry to come up with good new products, streamline production methods and keep its profit margins reasonable so that the consumer can buy at a sensible price.

Seen in this light, competition does not depend on the quality of anti-trust legislation and its implementation. Government subsidies and guarantees have as much of an effect as do the ups and downs of the economy as a whole.

Competition naturally becomes livelier in a recession; but, by the same token, many companies would rather not compete but join forces when the overall economic going gets tough.

Many firms fear for their survival and their staff for their jobs. It is therefore understandable that when the situation becomes really dicey these companies try to seek their salvation in cartels with strict production quotas and minimum prices or in mergers — as in the case of the steel industry.

An economic slump does not necessarily mean more competition, and the cartel office regards it as a success that there is now no relevant social group that demands an abolition or limitation of monopolies legislation.

Gerhard Meyenburg
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 February 1983)

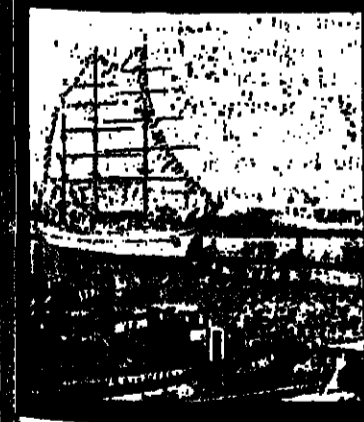
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■ PERSPECTIVE

Reliable influence over Soviet leaders 'must be aim of counter threats'

In this article, Dr Lothar Ruehl, state secretary at the Ministry of Defence, takes a closer look at the West's position on arms control.

Arms limitations cannot be considered a policy in itself. The renunciation of arms according to number and type alone does not guarantee true security.

The West's arms control policy has always been geared towards maintaining stable security within a conflict-laden relationship to the Soviet Union.

All negotiation proposals put forward by the West dealing with troop reductions, the limitation of military movements or restricting the strategic arms build-up have and will remain orientated towards security stability.

This basic principle applies to Western policies designed to mutually limit the amount of land-based intermediate-range projectile weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union to as low a level as possible, a negotiation objective of the North Atlantic alliance laid down in the double-decision to deploy and negotiate.

The offer made to re-examine arms requirements "in the light of concrete negotiation results" included the complete renunciation of American projectile weapons right from the start.

The deployment of those weapons, however, is viewed by the partners to the alliance as an essential backing-up and intensification of its regional capacity to deter an attack on Europe by means of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe and able to reach Soviet territory.

The requirement for such a renunciation, however, is a corresponding and equivalent renunciation on the part of the Soviet Union with regard to its medium-range (1,000 up to 5,500 km) land-based projectile weapons.

This ambitious objective may describe the optimal solution of the problem for arms control, yet not necessarily the optimal solution for the balance of power, which should provide Europe with a support and stability in these times of conflicting East-West relations.

It is imperative for the security of those countries in the western part of the continent, which stand in the shadows of Soviet missiles and bombers, tanks and guns, and are only a few early-warning minutes away from missiles stationed in West Russia, that an effective counter-threat exerts a reliable influence on the military success and risk calculations made by the Soviet leadership.

In a state of conflict, every consideration of military options must show the risk of a war in Europe to be too great, even in the event of a clear superiority of Warsaw Pact countries in the field of offensive forces ready-for-use in Europe.

A calculably high action risk is the element of effective deterrence which should be developed by the West in its arms policy, defence planning and defence readiness in regard to all Soviet military options.

The only thing that ought to remain incalculable for the aggressor is the reaction of the defending party and thus the exact course for further escalation.

Since Nato's longer-range carrier systems for nuclear weapons in Europe no longer came up to the level needed to correspond to such a strategy, and was thus no longer able to check the display of power by the Soviet Union in a crisis situation, the Nato partners decided in 1979 to modernise their longer-range regional nuclear warhead systems.

This programme of up to 572 nuclear warheads and medium-range projectiles was included in the Nato double-decision and served as a basis for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

This was linked with a three-fold offer for stable security with fewer nuclear weapons than in the alliance's arsenals up to that time:

I. Withdrawal of 1,000 nuclear warheads from American depots in Europe. This was effected at the end of 1980.

II. Reduction to the number of new weapon systems (on a piecemeal basis) to between 572 and zero.

III. Renunciation by Nato of its instrument for the optimisation of its flexible response strategy: it would do away with weapons which could cover those military objects in the western part of the Soviet Union which are of considerable importance for organising, supporting and intensifying large-scale military operations against Western Europe.

This renunciation of the means of effecting a strategy of deterrence and the offer to reduce and limit the number of such means to 572 can be of considerable value to both sides if the Soviet Union realises and accepts the mutual advantage of reciprocity.

6 Siberian grey area ... certainly not in interests of Europe

The offer by the Nato partner countries comprises no less than an act of self-restraint, refraining from resorting to the means of stalling the Soviet land and air forces so dangerous to Western Europe, the so-called 2nd Strategic Attack Echelons of the Warsaw Pact (the section of the Soviet army which in the event of war would close in on the West. — Ed.).

This means abandoning the stability to seal off advancing Soviet forces. The need to set up medium-range missiles in Europe for this purpose became all the more pressing with the international American superiority losing ground in the field of intercontinental weapons. This offer, however, presupposes that the Soviet Union acknowledges similar security needs on the part of Western European countries.

This would be the only real basis for agreement.

This basis also implies that the rights and upper limits of both negotiating partners' land-based medium-range weapons be laid down right from the start. The level of arms can be fixed between zero level and a higher parity ceiling. An agreement aimed at reducing levels step-by-step to zero level is quite

conceivable in the interests of mutual and balanced security.

If such agreement were reached, other weapon systems such as aircraft carriers and carriers of short-range offensive weapons could be equally included in such limitation efforts.

This possibility reveals the perspective of this approach: the strategic offer of mutual self-restraint on the basis of a balanced arms situation could eventually cover all arms including conventional forces and, of course, the tactical nuclear weapons in Europe on both sides.

Important for European security in this respect and for the effectiveness of arms control as a factor of stability in East-West relations is the renunciation by the Soviet Union of its continental offensive and threat option, i.e. of the offensive potential of its SS-20 missiles.

The stationing of 22-20s represents (ignoring the still existing 250 older medium-range models SS-4 and SS-5) with its already positioned 243 SS-20s (234 of which are definitely ready-for-use) such an independent continental strategic option.

The number of warheads ready-for-use figures at about 700 (not counting the reload stock), which is much higher than the level below which the classification as a decisive strategic factor would be unjustified.

The orders of magnitude suggested in Soviet offers, 162 or 150 SS-20s with 3 warheads each, still represent an independent offensive and threat potential regardless of the available intercontinental missiles of variable range and those of shorter range.

The Soviet Union, therefore, would have to cut down the number of its SS-20s substantially. The question then arises: what about the transfer of surplus SS-20s to Asia? Europe and the United States cannot ignore the subsequent strategic threat to other regions.

The strain on relations with China and Japan cannot solely be seen from an American point of view. Things must be straightened out before the upholding of the agreement by the Soviet Union can be verified.

A Siberian grey area for the stationing of SS-20s on road-mobile and air-transferrable SS-20 systems, with the Transsiberian railway serving as a mobile axis between the East and the West, would certainly not be in the interests of European security and stability in arms control.

The zero option also remains the optimal solution for verification purposes. If however, the Soviet Union were not willing to renounce the use of its SS-20s, it would have to make acceptable suggestions for a bilateral parity level for the United States and the Soviet Union including the limitation of SS-20s in Asia, one which is verifiable.

The Soviet suggestion made in Geneva to include the French and British strategic weapons systems in considerations on Eurostrategic East-West balance is an attempt to cover up Soviet superiority, to obtain international recognition of the Soviet privilege to possess modern land-based medium-range missiles, to squeeze America out of Europe as a nuclear power and to maintain the continental strategic offensive capacity

of the SS-20s, as an independent and offensive potential.

This potential is intended for the Soviet Union to decide by merely threatening to use its military potential and to replace political policy factor by the fear of war on the weaker party.

At the same time, the abduct such a war is maintainable alternative.

This is precisely the challenge security which endangers the defence of Western European and the North Atlantic alliance.

The chances for negotiation will depend on whether the Soviet Union can find its way back to the realisation made in 1980. In his opinion, the British and Chinese missiles must be the international strategic option.

Another prerequisite is the Soviet Union's willingness to accept the demand that the 255 British systems (including 162 SS-20s) be added to the general disarmament. In this respect, the Soviet Union is neither backed by the Soviet Union nor by the logic of valence.

6 Soviet commitment to renounce missiles threat would pave way

According to the Salt II SBLM sea-based missiles are "agic" systems, in as far as they are on nuclear-powered submarines began operation after 1964.

The INF negotiations in Geneva, the other hand, do not deal with "agic" weapons.

The French and British sea-based missiles are similar to those of the Americans and the Soviets; all of them are extremely mobile and used outside Europe.

Their mobility excludes their incorporation in an agreement with the limitation of arms in Europe.

If the same criteria for the Anglo-French sea-based missiles were to be applied to Soviet sea-based missiles, at least 300 SS-N-6s, on the Soviet submarines based in the North Atlantic, would have to be taken into account, i.e. twice as many as the number of British and French missiles.

The inclusion of comparative systems according to the same criteria, therefore, would only go to the denominator of the equation, and result of the calculation.

The Soviet superiority cannot be minimized — except by dismantling the surplus Soviet missile commitment by the Soviets, or other hand, to renounce their Western Europe with SS-20s, to pave the way for reciprocal, and verifiable disarmament on both sides.

The first deadline for such effort the end of 1983, one step in the reduction. If this step is taken, other systems and expansion of military forces would become superfluous.

Lothar Ruehl
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 4 March 1983)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Earth's great radioactive rubbish dump

Stiddeutsche Zeitung

The industrialised countries of the world are still using the oceans as a waste into the sea and the results are seen on many beaches.

Another, more insidious, form of dumping is radioactive waste. And this is not even illegal. It is legally grounded in the London Dumping Convention which was signed by 52 countries in 1972.

It is regarded as the most important international contract regulating marine pollution. The original intention was to put an end to the pollution of the world's seas.

Organisms living in the sea account for over two thirds of the world's oxygen, and an ever-increasing amount of the world's food supply is made up of fish, crustaceans, seaweed and algae.

Although the London Dumping Convention tried to take this situation into account, the parties to the agreement are not willing to set up a barrier preventing them from finding an easy way of disposing of dangerous waste materials.

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Two volumes are already in print. They are:

North and South America. 172 pp., DM 22.80;

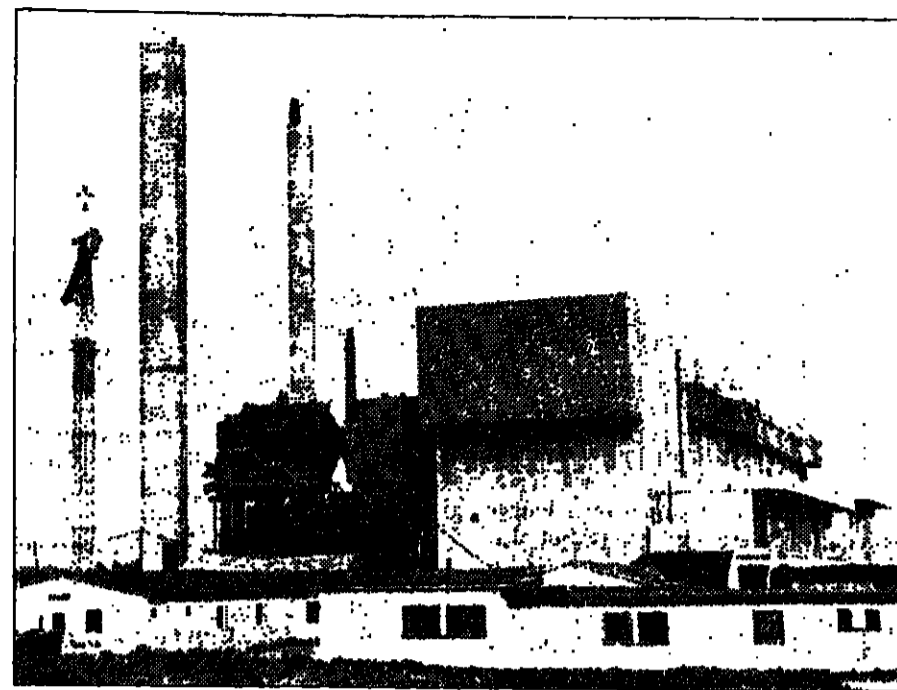
Asia/Australia. 240 pp., DM 24.80.

They will be followed in March 1983 by:

Africa. 115 pp., DM 19.80;

Europe/USSR. 190 pp., DM 24.80.

Look it up in Brockhaus



Waste not, want not

This DM350m complex near Recklinghausen, in the Ruhr, is the first plant in Germany designed to recover usable raw material from waste. It processes 600,000 tons of household garbage, 90,000 tons of bulky refuse and 35,000 tons of industrial waste a year.

(Photo: amw)

rials, most of which they could not get rid of on land, or only at great expense.

For this reason, the Convention allows radioactive waste of weak and intermediate intensity to be dumped in the oceans.

For years now, Britain, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland have taken advantage of the situation. Up to now they have dumped almost 100,000 tons of atomic waste in an area about 700 kilometres north-west of the Spanish coast, and this figure increases by 15,000 tons each year. The first country to actively

practise this disputed method of waste disposal was the USA.

Up until 1960 it dumped nuclear waste along the Californian and also Atlantic coast.

A study by San Francisco's municipal administration at the end of the seventies revealed that contrary to predictions the nuclear material had not distributed itself evenly in the sea.

Much of it had penetrated into the seabed sediments, creating a source of intense radioactive radiation.

Sea organisms taken from this area, which are eaten by human beings, were plutonium-contaminated. The results of this study backed up efforts by the two South Sea states, Nauru and Kiribati, to

a recent meeting of the Convention signatories, to effect a ban on dumping nuclear waste. However, objections by Britain, the USA, Holland and Switzerland put an end to such hopes.

The arguments put forward opposing such plans are fatally reminiscent of arguments voiced in West Germany opposing measures to stop the deaths of trees.

Scientific research needs more time to discover whether such moves are essential. This attitude doesn't exactly show a great deal of responsibility.

For in reality the world's oceans, and in particular the deep-sea, make up a little-known eco-system. This should be reason enough to stop indiscriminate dumping activities. The latter should at least be postponed until more definite research findings emerge, a suggestion put forward by Spain.

The fact that only now has a more rigid control of packaging and dumping nuclear waste been decided upon should make us prick up our ears.

Britain is reported to making attempts to obtain more generous levels for weak and intermediate radioactive waste. The fact that the Federal Republic of Germany abstained in London and Britain, Switzerland and the USA said no is no coincidence.

These countries have commissioned an International Seabed Working Group (ISWG) to look into the possibility of final storage of highly radioactive waste on the sea-bed.

Although this does not contradict the wording of the London Dumping Convention, it does run contrary to its spirit. It marks a desperate attempt at coming to terms with the drawbacks of nuclear energy usage.

Christian Schneider

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 February 1983)

Get tough with the polluters, urges water supply chief

Tougher steps to combat water pollution have been urged by the chief of BGW, Germany's gas and water supply association.

Fritz Glaser told a conference that those responsible for introducing the pollution should be required to pay for its removal.

He said that a lot of spring, ground and sea water was poor because of industrial effluent, communal sewage, excessive fertilisation by farmers and the existence of special refuse tips containing toxics.

Herr Glaser's warning comes in the wake of a report by the West German Preservation of Nature Group.

It warned in a report that large areas of the floodplains of the Lower Rhine, the Ruhr, Ems, Wupper and Weser rivers were contaminated by cadmium and lead.

Water supplies in Bavaria were found to have nitrate contents higher than the EEC limit. The blame was laid on over-fertilisation of fields and vineyards.

Herr Glaser told the meeting that despite the heavy pollution in some areas, the impression that German waters were all polluted should be avoided.

Most people had no reason to worry. Water was still the most strictly controlled foodstuff. The supply is guaranteed until the turn of the century.

Reports of pollution through carelessness, though, have become more frequent. They include leaking sewerage pipes, bad waste disposal and improper fertilisation.

Water experts try to tone down such reports by stating that 73 percent of West Germany's drinking water is made up of pure ground and spring water and is not obtained from the endangered surface waters such as lakes and the sea.

Nitrates, which can lead to cancer after transformation within the human body, is of no danger to health at its present level.

Unfortunately, no efficient and economical purification methods for removing nitrates has been developed.

Altogether, 96 percent of West Germany's population receive pure drinking water.

However, the water experts did not hide the fact that there are some water works where little is known about the source water.

Sometimes, the control procedure just about comes up to legal provisions. As there are a number of unsolved problems in this field, a report by the West German Ministry of the Interior states that future dangers to the supply of drinking water cannot be excluded.

Karl Stankiewicz

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 March, 1983)

CIVIL EMERGENCY

Old Mother Hubbard will be too late if she waits until the dreaded Day X

More than 33 years have passed since the German food ration-cards issued during and after the Second World War disappeared into history's waste paper basket.

The 137th "ration period" in May 1950 saw the end of the era of official administration deprivation, which has lasted almost 11 years.

Was it really the last farewell? The comprehensive emergency programme developed by the German government in preparation for a conceivable (in reality, this should read "inconceivable") "X-day" would suggest that it was not.

In official safes kept under lock and key new food and milk ration-cards lie waiting to be distributed if the worst does indeed come to the worst and an emergency situation should eventuate.

The provision of foodstuff reserves and the elaboration of administrative measures are also parts of overall planning. The official reserves are to be complemented by stocks held by private citizens.

The storing of such private stocks, once encouraged under the name "Operation Squirrel", is particularly important if disruptions occur at a local level only — for example, if areas are cut off by snow or floods.

They are also of value in peacetime if food supply crises are caused by strikes (lorry drivers and railwaymen). However, if things become more serious, if a crisis looms due to a political or military threat, time will tell whether Rolf Solmecke and Dr Hans-Joachim Wolter together with their colleagues in the Food Supply Department of the Federal Ministry for Food and Agriculture have done their homework properly.

The closely-guarded secretive operation in the official Bonn-Sulsdorf offices is part of the overall civil defence programme — and is therefore closely linked to NATO planning.

This account for the "reserved caution" in answering questions on this subject. The stocks of grain and forage cereal, which make up the national reserves and are located throughout Germany, are regarded as top-secret.

It is also virtually impossible to elicit exact figures on these "Civil Defence Reserves" from the gentlemen responsible.



These reserves, this much is known, comprise foodstuffs which are ready for use and can be stored over longer periods: rice, peas and beans, but also powdered and condensed milk. These stocks must get to the population fast, particularly in large conurbations. Reserves are intended to last in emergency "for a certain period" (referred to in a brochure on this subject as 30 days).

One hot meal a day is planned. In addition, the intervention holdings of the European Community will also be made available.

As opposed to the civil defence reserves, stocks are laid in according to economic principles and not strategic ones.

These stocks are changed and replaced depending on the degree of their natural decomposition (this is the reason for the so-called "Christmas butter").

The figures at the end of 1982 were as follows: 2,889,125 tons of wheat, 242,294 tons of rye, 241,876 tons of barley, 33,341 tons of butter, 19,065 tons of beef, 363,300 tons of powdered skimmed milk and 5,320 tons of rape.

At the same time, private stockpiling was carried out supported by the EC: 38,647 tons of butter, 602 tons of beef and 457 tons of pork.

Sugar is missing from this list since the factories are constantly obliged to store five per cent of their production figure: this has reached 100,000 tons by December 31, 1982. Officials in Bonn are well aware of the fact that they would not have the chance to unpack their stocks if a nuclear war or a lightning attack were to occur.

Even during a "conventional emergency situation" reserves would not last for ever — even if they were full to the brim.

However, stockpiling efforts continue and this year's federal budget has earmarked almost DM26 million for stock-keeping and emergency provisions.

Is this really enough? "Well, it's sufficient with regard to the overall financial situation. The intended programme can be implemented", we are told.

The stock-piling strategists must also abide by market-economy laws. Recently, for example, stocks of peas and beans were increased due to their particularly low current price levels. However, in an emergency situation compulsory food-rationing will be essential if stocks are to prove adequate.

The Decree on Food Rationing issued on January 10, 1979, provides a legal basis for the food ration-cards needed in such an event.

The list of foods to be rationed is contained in the appendix to this decree: flour, ground rice, bread, cake and pastries, pasta, pearl barley, potatoes, sugar, and of course, meat and eggs, fish, oil and milk as well as tinned vegetables and fruit.

Not on the list at present are fresh fruit, coffee, tobacco, fresh vegetables and green fodder.

Textiles are also not subject to rationing. However, home slaughtering will be immediately forbidden.

Such a compulsory rationing system would automatically come into being in a conflict of defence situation, i.e. during a war.

Things are more complex when it comes to a mere throat, an economic blockade for example.

In such a case, the implications are not quite as automatic: the German Bundestag must decide whether food rationing is essential.

The men in the various Ministries have sleepless nights when they contemplate the consequences of making their decision too early (leading to panic buying) or too late, inducing a rapid reduction of stocks still on the market and requiring them to resort to government reserves at a relatively early stage.

Whatever the case: on the dreaded X-day on which rationing begins, the sale of rationed goods will be banned for 48 hours.

This period will serve to enable a stock-taking of available goods and allow the food ration-cards to be issued.

At the same time, special food offices will be set up, responsible for emergency control operations. Planners hope that this short period will not be taken advantage of to hand over goods "via the back-door".

The fact that a planned rationing system has not been introduced is the root of the confidence. Normal commercial stocks will not be confiscated. They will continue to be offered in line with principles and at market prices.

According to Assistant Government Secretary Solmecke, the aim is "to maintain private stocks". However, he cannot categorically state the fact that price regulation is not necessary.

Supermarkets and self-service stores are not exactly suited for this location of goods. The shop owner will come back into favour.

According to comments made by the Ministry in Bonn, "practical measures" have already been carried out, during the self-service shops were closed into counter stores within 48 hours. What is more, the ration level is determined by the stocks available.

No-one was willing to provide information on what would be the individual coupons (this has been a source of unhappiness for the members of the population).

One thing is for sure, says Dr. Solmecke, "we are all going to have to live with this. This is a basic principle of planning efforts".

He tries to comfort himself by pointing out that a man's average caloric intake is 2,500 calories. The required level is 2,000.

These official measures cannot be compared with the survival during the 1930s and 1940s, however, are certainly available brochure containing advice from A to Z.

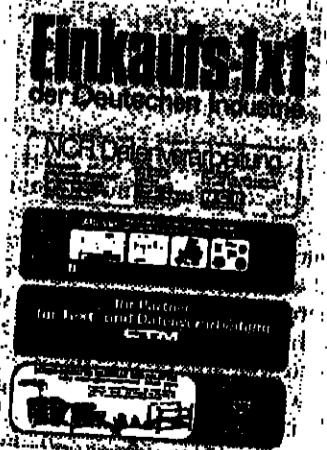
Social attention focusses on the children and the elderly. Each dual should have the following stock: two to three packets of bread or hard cakes, 500 grams of rice, rolled oats, flour, rice and pasta, 1000 grams of meat, 1000 grams of fish, a few instant noodle packets, 30 bottles of fruit juice.

This advice appears to have been given over 10 years ago. It is a good response in practice. A survey, eight out of ten West German households have some food reserves at home.

Siegfried Kasper (Rheinische Post, 26 February 1983)

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THE CINEMA
Understatement
on sectarian
violence

Golden Bear, the leading prize at the Berlin film festival is shared by the films *Ascendancy* by Edward Bennett (Britain) and *La Colmena* (The Beehive) by Mario Camus (Spain). The Turkish film, *A Season in Hakkari*, by Yilmaz Guner, was awarded the Silver Bear. The Silver Bear for best director went to Frenchman Erich Rohmer for *My Night at the Beach*. Bruce Dern was awarded the prize for best actor for his performance in Jason Miller's *That Championship Season* (USA).

The only proper film shown so far at the Berlin film festival is a British production, *Ascendancy*. It is the first of a young director, Edward Bennett, who has chosen to deal with events that happened 30 years before he was born.

And yet the subject of Bennett's film is not the past, not even the genesis of the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland. History is not the subject of *Ascendancy* but the present-day Northern Ireland. History is not the subject of *Ascendancy* but the present-day Northern Ireland.

The sight of a strike by Irish workers being crushed and a national holiday being celebrated by the British and Catholics leads to chaos and weeks of bloodshed. The planners in the British government are certainly available brochure containing advice from A to Z.

Social attention focusses on the children and the elderly. Each dual should have the following stock: two to three packets of bread or hard cakes, 500 grams of rice, rolled oats, flour, rice and pasta, 1000 grams of meat, 1000 grams of fish, a few instant noodle packets, 30 bottles of fruit juice.

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Siegfried Kasper (Rheinische Post, 26 February 1983)

220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'

tailed analysis; just like the politicians, he has no remedial cure to offer.

He doesn't force us to take in superfluous visual effects, which cannot contend with the force of fantasy aroused by *Ascendancy*.

It is a film produced by someone closely involved in the issues presented and the film triggers a feeling of consternation among the audience.

The second West German entry, *Dies rigorese Leben*, is at the same time the second film directed by actor-director, Vadim Glowna. His first film was *Desperado City*. His follow-up production is set in the desert in the South-West of the USA.

Two German families which had emigrated to this God (and man) — forsaken area in 1938 try to survive somehow, running a petrol station and a restaurant.

Twenty years later, the force keeping these survivors alive has died down; they decide to move on.

The plot is very promising, yet Glowna, who also wrote the screenplay, does not live up to expectations.

He is a director capable of presenting an exciting plot. In this film, however, his driving force is missing. He just hasn't got a feel for the grotesque; the scenes depicting the brothers and the ageing Negro Mama (dubbed in German by Brigitte Mira) cannot be classified as successful. Somehow, he is not able to inspire his female characters with the required vitality.

Angela Molina dances around with a mixed-up psyche and Vera Tchechowa has to almost copy Ophelia's role of insanity.

Only two characters stick in my mind. Although Glowna declared his intention to make a film about women, these two characters are men: an old, wise Red Indian, part commentator, part presenter (German dubbing: Bernhard Wicki) and the Polish actor, Jerzy Radziwiliowicz, whom Andrzej Wajda had



Ian Charleson and Julie Covington in *Ascendancy*.

(Photo: Internationale Film Festspiele Berlin)

already presented as a man of marble and a man of iron.

In this film, he is a man of taciturnity. In one episode of the film he blows away his blues on the saxophone. For a whole hour, it looked as if Jerzy Radziwiliowicz would have a chance of getting the Silver Bear award, but by the time the lavish and ridiculous final fireworks display is over, his chances will have probably disappeared.

Wherever possible, Bennett feels committed to understatement. He does not present a wild story, but sketches in the plot using short scenes.

His intention is not to provide a de-

Eberhard Seybold

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 February 1983)

Berlin forum: 11 rich days of varying fare

This year's 13th International Young Film Forum gives those interested 11 days to work their way through the veritable mountains of films presented.

The Forum, the second part of Berlin's film festival, provides an opportunity to experience the ups and downs of one's own cinematic fantasies, no easy task considering the vast selection put forward.

During these 11 days, the cinema becomes the mirror of the world. Although the richness of the world cannot be captured adequately on the screen, this medium presents the varied, confusing yet fascinating sides of life which make up the world we know.

This year the programme began with a document of cinema's own early history.

Charles Musser's *Before the Nickelodeon — the Cinema of Edwin S. Porter* takes us back to the "breathtaking" days of the first moving pictures, taking up the trail of the first well-known American film director, Edwin S. Porter.

Porter was regarded as one of the real forefathers of the modern-day Western, gaining his breakthrough with *The Great Train Robbery*.

This film represented a piece of continuity in film history, the aspect evident throughout the whole of this year's festival.

There are many references and glances back at cinema's days gone by. Pasolini's *La Rabbia* is one such example, produced 20 years ago as an angry look at the age in which he was living.

It is perhaps one of the most typical and exemplary entries to the forum. For cinema's future, its uninhibited development and a certain degree of its cinematic utopia would not have been possible without understanding the link

Chan is Missing by Wayne Wang takes the typical American detective story down to Chinatown. The search for the missing Chan enables the audience to take a closer look at this exotic milieu, behind the usual facade seen by tourists.

The fact that the two protagonists do not in fact find Chan is of minor importance. More important is their exciting and amusing trip through this new and unknown world.

Up to now, Syria has been a cinematic unknown and at first glance Samir Cibra's film *Hadisat an-husl meter* looks very much like conventional European cinema.

However, the director employs clever nuances to tell the story of the fruitless love of a tax official set against the background of the war against Israel. Finally, he returns to the pecking order of the bureaucratic system.

The imitation of the European way of life and the mechanisms behind the social hierarchy are also caricatured.

As opposed to European films, however, life's weaknesses never gain the upper hand over life itself. Love would appear to be one of the main themes at this year's festival; if the first films shown are anything to go by, intense feelings, longings and the inability to realise them attract the interest of many film directors.

Nothing would seem more difficult today than to live together in harmony, whether on a large or small level. Shorab Shalid Suljes, who experienced a huge flop in the competition with his three-and-a-half hour blow-up artistic production *Utopia*, presented a quiet, thought-provoking film at the forum.

In it he depicts the relations between the private world and the world outside, for example to foreigners.

Address Unknown shows us how a marriage breaks down and how a woman is confronted by hostility towards foreigners after living together with a foreign architect.

The essayistic pictures in the film seem relaxing and full of hope, yet as soon as Saleh drifts into developing cinematic hypotheses for life, the film almost turns into an educational film, as if the acceptance of minorities could be taught via the cinema.

Saleh's film does have its ambivalent effect in the love story between a maker of documentary films and a film journalist, Hans Stempel and Martin Ripkens.

A Love like any Other, however, fails as a film, presenting the ideal world of a modern-day couple, a story which could figure on the glossy pages of *Cosmopolitan* or *Brigitte*.

The only difference is that our two real sunny boys are homosexuals. It's not easy to understand exactly what the two authors of this film want.

Was the intention to criticise the superficial nature of this relationship? Or to show the fact that the living-together of two homosexuals is a "love like any other"?

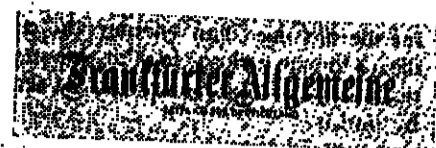
Whichever, neither was successful, although the film was a refreshing slip into the ridiculous, demonstrating the fact that many young film-makers overestimate their abilities. Yet despite such moments, which make the forum no less exciting, the forum has found its identity at half-time.

Rothh Keller

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 February 1983)

EXHIBITIONS

Rhineland and the Viking connection



In the Year of Our Lord 883, the Normans, having come from Denmark, took their ships up the Rhine with God-fried's approval," wrote the chronicler Abbot Regino.

"Having taken oppidum Duisburg, they erected a fortress in their accustomed manner and remained there throughout the winter. Prince Heinrich rallied an army against them, preventing them from undertaking plundering forays in the vicinity.

"As spring came, they burned down their camp and withdrew to the coast." The City of Duisburg owes Abbot Regino the first exact dated mention in writing.

But Duisburg had been settled long before then. In fact, as far back as 800 BC people had been making use of the fertile soil and the favourable position of the area at the confluence of two rivers. What attracted the Normans to Duisburg was not only their hope of establishing a flourishing trading centre and of plundering the king's possessions but also the fact that this was a perfect place from which to control the length of the Rhine and the mouth of the Ruhr.

Duisburg's Niederrheinisches Museum seized upon the 1,000th anniversary of the first mention of the city as a welcome opportunity to present an exhibition on the history and culture of the Vikings whose looting raids in the Rhineland were notorious. This also provided an opportunity to present the early history of Duisburg.

The combination of the two themes of the exhibition is only seemingly weird. The connecting link is Abbot Regino's chronicle, which deals with both the city and the Vikings.

The Norman raid 1,000 years ago has given this drab industrial city a chance to profit a bit from the grimly romantic and savage charm of the blonde dædewils from the far north.

The show, though not large in terms of floor area, is well worth seeing. Most of the 84 items on exhibit are on loan from the Leningrad Eremitage, Britain's Yorkshire Museum, the Copenhagen National Museum, and many German institutions.

The items have been assembled into a vivid depiction of Viking culture, clothing, jewellery, weapons, replicas of settlements and ships and maps showing their campaign routes.

Much information is also provided in the form of photographs, replicas and original artefacts on the Vikings' religion, burial rites and script.

Many more ornate exhibitions have been less educational than the Duisburg show. The relatively small though excellent catalogue is likely to become a coveted handbook on the Vikings.

To fully do justice to the achievement of the organisers of the Duisburg exhibition, it must be borne in mind that they had very little material to fall back on that would relate to the actual theme they had in mind: The Vikings on the Rhine.

There are plenty of written documents dating back to the 9th and 10th centuries that describe how the Norman adventurers took their swift flat-bottomed boats as far as Cologne in 839/40. There are also descriptions of how they raided and fired other cities along the Rhine. But there are virtually no archaeological finds relating to the Rhine forays.

This has several reasons. The most important one is probably that these nomads of the sea — unlike in York, northern France, Sicily and Iceland — never really settled along the Rhine. As a result, there are no graves of Norman nobility nor any of those treasures that indigenous settlers would have buried for safekeeping from the looters.

The Viking treasure trove of Cuerdale in England with its more than 10,000 coins and 1,000 lbs of silver is a typical example of this type of buried treasure. It is also the world's biggest find of this nature.

Naturally, the Vikings could have left all sorts of amulets, coins or even swords behind in their winter camps between Duisburg, Koblenz and Trier. After all, they often enough had to retreat in great haste. The problem for the archaeologists is that the exact location of these camps has never been pinpointed. Moreover, for safety reasons, the Vikings liked to sit it out on river islands that have meanwhile disappeared.

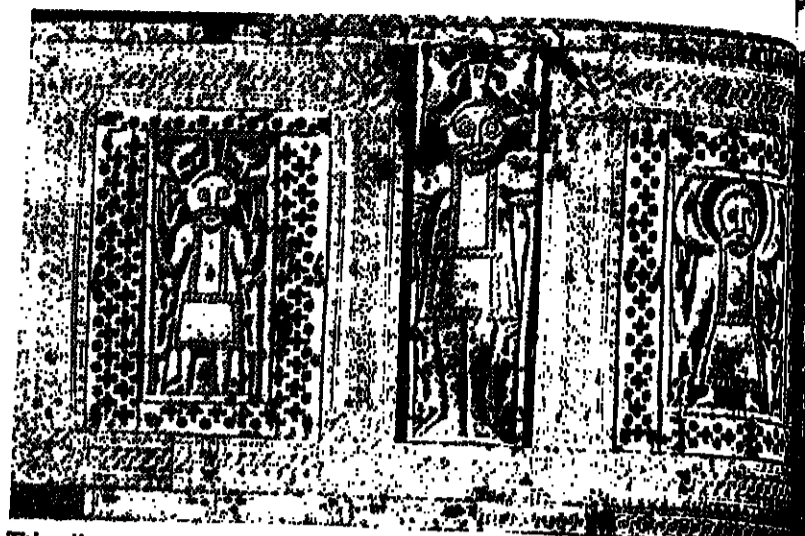
Another reason for the scarcity of archaeological finds in simply that research into the Viking era needs intensifying. This would require more systematic digging in settlements — which happens to be particularly costly.

The archaeological digs in downtown Duisburg only became possible when the Public Works Department dug up city streets to lay new water pipes.

The amount of work that still remains to be done in this field of archaeological research is evidenced by the fact that only six per cent of the famous Hedeby settlement in Germany's far north has so far been thoroughly sifted and analysed.

The rarity of Viking finds along the Rhine is in inverse relation to the amount of Viking speculation.

There is an ever new crop of art historians who maintain that one or other fortress was built as a protective measure against the Normans. But this has clearly been proved only in the case



This altar covering from a church in Worden dates from AD 750. It is thought to have been influenced by the Vikings.

of Bonn, where the old Roman fortifications were restored in the year 881 to ward off the northern predators.

For the rest, there is every likelihood that the Viking researcher Wilhelm Janssen has a point. He maintains that the noblemen along the lower reaches of the Rhine did not build their fortresses against the Vikings but against the forays of their neighbours.

Do Viking activities along the Rhine contribute anything to solving the question as to why these aggressive Scandinavians left their homelands in today's Denmark, Norway and Sweden between the 8th and 11th centuries to raid the rest of the old world?

For the Icelandic Viking specialist Magnus Magnusson, the main reason for the raids was a Scandinavian population explosion in the 7th century and the resulting scarcity of land. Only the oldest son could inherit the father's farm; the others had to range afield.

The freedom-loving Vikings, Magnusson suggests, also fled in masses from the violence of regional chieftains and princes.

Those proud Norsemen who settled in Iceland had been escapees from King Harald.

So far as the Rhineland is concerned, however, it is obvious that the Vikings who went there were not looking for arable land. They attacked only where there was a promise of rich booty: monasteries, fortresses and cities that were known for their wealth during the Carolingian Age.

In his catalogue essay, Wilhelm Janssen speaks of the "undisguised greed" of the Vikings. They were not only after coins, but also after people for sale on the slave markets.

Writes Janssen: "It was not until the late phases of the Norman raids in the last third of the 9th century that the search for land to be settled emerged as a motive."



Viking settlement in Duisburg in AD 883. Model by R. Szymczak, of Duisburg.

MEDICINE

The stresses and strains of being foreign take a heavy toll

One person in 13 in Germany is a foreigner. So is one worker in 10. Yet medicine has done little to adapt to the special needs of foreigners despite the fact that their rate of absenteeism and illness is now higher than among Germans.

Until 1975 it was the other way around.

Doctors have progressed little in complaining about the difficulties caused by the language barrier and the difficulty of examining foreign women due to their cultural background.

It is quite possible that becoming accustomed to the German social welfare system and a different attitude towards work in Germany plays a certain role in absenteeism rate. But this in itself provides no adequate explanation.

It is a known fact that foreigners are more prone to certain ailments that appear to be solely due to their particular constitution.

For instance, they are more prone to psychosomatic disorders of the digestive tract (especially in the second year of their stay in Germany) and the cardiovascular system.

People living in dormitory accommodation without their families are much more susceptible than others.

Treatment is difficult and often impossible because thorough familiarity with the patient's language is essential. Treating problems that have psychosomatic roots. It is therefore very rare for foreigners to receive psychotherapeutic treatment. Only family doctors who have known the patient for a long time and a reasonable chance of success.

Attempts to overcome the language barrier through foreign doctors practising in areas heavily populated by foreigners have failed because head of a multilingual clinic, Turks or Yugoslavs have a bias against their own doctors and prefer to be treated by Germans.

The stress resulting from the move to a strange country, from a rural area to a big city and separation from the next-of-kin encourage illness.

And the slum atmosphere in which many foreigners are forced to live acts as an incubator for latent psychological disorders.

It has been established that people living alone, those with little education and those who suffer from the gap between the hoped for and the actually achieved social status are psychologically at risk.

More than half of the foreign workers in Germany say that homesickness is the worst of their problems.

Homesickness can indeed lead to illness. Psychiatrist Wolfgang Larbig of the University of Bonn describes the misadventures of our day and age as a psychosocial problem of the first order. (*Medizin, Mensch, Gesellschaft*, Vol. 7, 1982). Separation from the accustomed home environment and the necessity to adapt to entirely new surroundings and customs in the host country cause major stress, says Larbig.

Especially in southern Europe, there is a feeling of safety within the clan. The future is predictable and can be controlled in these circumstances. But this very feeling of safety prevents the development of the mechanisms needed to adapt to entirely different conditions

because, while at home, all responsibility rests with the clan.

The clash with an alien society in a strange country therefore frequently overtaxes people who left home for one reason only: to make money.

The inability to integrate in the new surroundings is an added stress factor which, together with the feeling that the future is outside one's control, can lead to illness.

The end result is that the home country becomes idealised and the host country is rejected. This kind of situation leads to depression and psychosomatic symptoms.

Homesickness must once have been ever more pronounced than today. People who did not die of homesickness frequently committed suicide or deliberately took upon themselves grave dangers in a bid to get back home, as 17th century literature on Swiss mercenaries serving European potentates shows.

Then homesickness was generally referred to as nostalgia. In fact, even Goethe mentions the dire consequences of homesickness in a 1774 letter to Lavater.

Gathering at railway stations as a symbolic act of being closer to home is not the only expression of homesickness among foreign workers in Germany. The same applies to their search for persons they trust (like social workers, clergymen or doctors).

These people frequently become figures that replace the mother back home. The widespread use of charms and amulets among foreigners is another way of escaping loneliness and keeping the memory of home alive.

In a bid to arrive at generally applicable findings about the effects of migration on health, Wolfgang Larbig interviewed 143 Greek and 43 Japanese workers in Germany. He also interviewed 62 Germans working in South Africa and Latin America.

He found that the frequency of psy-

chosomatic disorders of the digestive tract and the cardiovascular system varied from group to group.

Germans working abroad were least affected. He attributes the differences to social status. Most of the Germans he interviewed were academics working as specialists and most were successful.

More than two-thirds of the Japanese and Greeks felt that they were discriminated against, while the Germans abroad had no feeling of discrimination whatsoever; nor did they feel homesick.

On the other hand, 93 per cent of the Greeks and 14 per cent of the Japanese said that they were homesick.

More than 50 per cent of the Greeks and Japanese as opposed to 22 per cent of the Germans were receiving medical treatment for disorders with psychological backgrounds.

Cultural differences between the home and the host country have a major impact that has nothing to do with the friendliness or otherwise a person meets with abroad.

The Japanese language has an untranslatable term *amae* that expresses the need for dependence and social ties.

In Western civilisation such needs are seen in a rather negative light and brushed aside as puerile.

The extreme discrepancy between two cultures explains the tendency among foreign workers to isolate themselves. It also explains their psychological disorders and their homesickness.

A foreign worker suffering from depression told Larbig that his stay in the host country was "a slow death," highlighting the threat the change from one society to another poses.

Larbig compares this with what he calls the voodoo death which is fairly common among so-called primitive societies when a taboo has been violated.

With people who have strong religious and family ties, leaving home can be tantamount to violating established standards — a problem these people find hard to overcome.

Warning over children and drugs

Some 100,000 Hamburg schoolchildren aged between 12 and 16 will be delivering official letters to their parents in the next few weeks.

The letters won't be their school reports, as usual at this time of year, but information sheets on the risks of drugs, tobacco and alcohol.

Parents will be told that their children are at an age where they tend to form cliques and show off, taking all sorts of risks in the process. This could make them experiment with drugs or drink.

Hamburg's Health Senator Helga Elstner sees the information sheet as a new approach in that its target is not the children but the parents.

All surveys show that the extent to which children are at risk largely depends on family atmosphere. Drug abuse is greatest among children who feel uncomfortable at home.

Surveys also show that young people who resort to drugs and drink have a

considerably poorer view of their family life than others in that age group.

The letter is only one part of the Hamburg drive that has been dubbed "Talking with Each Other — Living with Each Other" and will cost the city an estimated DM180,000.

Against payment of DM10, the parents can order two cassette recording giving examples of typical "crisis discussions" within the family and suggestions for a sensible settlement of disputes. Each cassette is accompanied by an information booklet.

The new approach was made necessary because the usual practice of targeting information drives on the schoolchildren themselves has made these young people curious rather than dampening their desire for drugs and liquor.

A survey shows that 13.6 per cent of Hamburg juveniles aged between 12 and 19 have experimented with drugs. This is one of the highest figures for any major German city.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 February 1983)

Attempts at remedying the situation should therefore concentrate on giving the foreign worker a feeling and security and confidence and on making his future more predictable and controllable.

A doctor, for instance, could try to strengthen certain personality traits that would make it easier for the patient to cope with a strange environment.

Chicago University psychologists have defined personality traits that provide protection from psychological disorders in stress situations. These traits include the willingness to face a social challenge, personal commitment, belief in the meaningfulness of one's own actions and open-mindedness towards social change.

Promoting these traits and attitudes would not only make it easier for a foreigner to adapt to the ways of his host country but would also protect him from homesickness and the psychosomatic disorders that go with it.

Margot Behrends

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 February 1983)

Shedding light on rheumatism

Causes, course and genetic aspects of rheumatism were the main topics at the 3rd International Rheumatism Congress in Mainz. The meeting was attended by more than 100 experts from all parts of Europe, including the East Bloc.

Basic research received as much attention as clinical experience.

Spontaneously occurring rheumatism in animals can provide valuable information on the causes and the course of the disease in humans.

The congress also dealt with the processes that take place in rheumatic joints and ways and means of controlling them.

With it all, the actual roots of most types of rheumatism still remain to be pinpointed. There is, however, hope that new therapies will be developed in the course of research.

Next year's congress on rheumatology research is to be held in Belgium.

The congress devoted a great deal of attention to a new English language periodical, "Clinical Rheumatology", that provides the latest clinical and research findings.

The publication is circulated worldwide. It is well illustrated and continues and amplifies where "Acta Rheumatologica Belgica" left off.

The papers read at the Mainz congress will be published in "Clinical Rheumatology" and the magazine will also provide important contact addresses of specialists.

Elisabeth Stiel-Beuerle

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 23 February 1983)

All in the mind

The World Congress on Psychosomatic Medicine in July will for the first time be held in Germany: in Hamburg.

Some 1,000 delegates are expected to attend. The Congress will deal, among other things, with the effectiveness of psychotherapeutic treatment and its integration into general medicine and traumatic life experiences — such as unemployment — as causes of psychosomatic ailments.

dps

(Rheinische Post, 23 February 1983)

It was something of a surprise that no radical political ideas were put forward by any of the speakers at a meeting of unemployed people in Bad Boll.

About 80 people attended the meeting, which was organised by the Protestant Academy.

However, one speaker did say that action groups formed by the jobless could become political. And some hecklers said that unemployment was a capitalist sickness and that the whole system needed to be changed.

There was also a threatening undercurrent in the posters on display ("Jobless does not mean defenceless").

A Protestant Academy spokesman estimates that there are about 300 organisations for the unemployed in Germany. Twenty five were represented at Bad Boll.

The fact is that, despite mass unemployment, the jobless are still looked upon as social outcasts who are too lazy to work.

Some of the delegates at the meeting have never had a job. They went on the dole straight from school. Others, especially old people, have been out of work for years.

While older people tend to throw in the towel, the young ones rebel and often try to do something, such as forming action groups.

They are not prepared to be viewed as outcasts by the rest of society. Their idea is to retain their self-respect through the groups they form.

The national congress of jobless in Frankfurt last December was something like a signal. A tide of widely varying action groups has grown since then.

Klaus Fütterer of the Protestant Academy, who chaired the Bad Boll meeting and who has been dealing with

SOCIETY

The unemployed begin to co-ordinate their act

unemployment for the past ten years, estimates the number of such self-help organisations in Baden-Württemberg alone at about 35. There are probably some 300 such organisations nationwide; 25 were at the Bad Boll meeting.

Apart from the common aim to establish contact with other jobless and society at large, the objectives and activities of these groups vary widely.

Some even have money to use for community activities. Others are still in their infancy and don't.

The more fortunate groups are those that are supported by the churches or the trade unions, which provide them with premises for meetings. Others fall apart before they have properly managed to organise themselves.

What they all have in common is the desire to help each other through moral and psychological support and to provide general and legal counselling, thus making it easier for the individual jobless to find his way through the maze of red tape and get the support he or she is entitled to.

Some have progressed to the point where they are actually able to provide jobs — though on a very small scale.

People who try to build up these action groups say that one of the biggest difficulties is to establish contact with other jobless.

The problem here is that people who are out of work — especially the older

ones — have resigned themselves to their lot and gone into hiding. As a result, the groups are all very small.

But some of them, like one action group in Reutlingen, have progressed to the point where they can publicly campaign through leaflets and are even able to maintain an information booth in a busy pedestrian zone.

The Reutlingen group publishes a newspaper, though printed on very cheap paper and appearing rather erratically at five to six-week intervals.

Still, these are encouraging beginnings. Another group in Ulm has received money from a savings bank. It intends to use it to start a workshop and make goods for sale.

In Esslingen, a group calling itself "Youth Help" which has been in existence for 20 years has tackled the renovation of two old houses. It intends to let the apartments to young people cheaply. Two elderly master craftsmen have found work here and several young people who worked on the project were able to find other jobs.

Newly founded organisations have a hard time drafting a concept of their objectives due to lack of experience and due to differences on what these objectives should be. The problem is that financiers expect to have a blueprint before opening their purses.

There is an underground political potential that could turn into dynamic if joblessness continues: one-third of the 250,000 jobless in Baden-Württemberg are under 25.

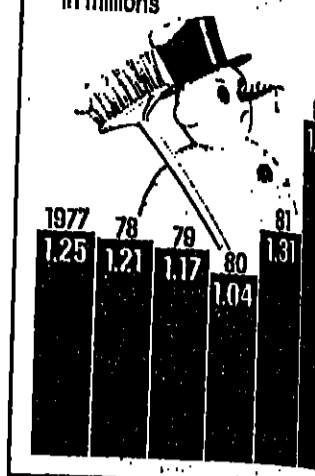
Neither the political parties nor the trade unions seem to have become fully aware of the consequences of youth joblessness.

But the unions are now beginning to do something. The Baden-Württemberg chairman of the Trade Union Federation, Siegfried Pommerenke, told the Bad Boll meeting that things would become worse if we continued to stick to the theory that the economy can pull itself out of the mire by its bootstraps.

MODERN LIVING

Pilgrims jam roads on the way to miracle waters

On the dole out in the January unemployment in millions



The unions were prepared to jobless action groups — if with money. And they were not deriding admitting unemployed members.

Towards the end of the meeting, one delegate said that served primarily to take stock than provide an answer to the posed in the invitation: How guard our interests?

He conceded, however, that action groups could acquire weight.

Even if the Bad Boll meeting did nothing else, it must do something that the representatives of the various groups exchanged and pledged to stay in touch.

Munich has an information on such groups covering the Federal Republic of Germany.

These movements keep the number of jobless grows. In addition to the unemployment cannot come from them.

The trouble is that young jobless tend to divide everything into pigeonholes to such an extent possibility of occasional work welfare field was not even discussed at the meeting.

But when one young woman complained that she was to realise her career ambitions, her called out: "To hell with it! — I'd be glad to have any sort of work."

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 Feb.)

Survey reveals what most troubles the young

Nearly half Germans between 15 and 30 are satisfied with the political system.

Satisfaction is most widespread among the more educated (44 per cent for people with an elementary school education; 54 per cent for university students and graduates).

This is the finding of a survey involving more than 2,000 carried out last summer by Infratest and the Sinus Institute.

Half the respondents are optimistic about their future. Only 19 per cent are really gloomy.

The young generation regards the destruction of our environment as the worst problem (66 per cent), followed by uncertainties about energy supplies (59) and the arms buildup (49).

Forty three per cent complained that the decisions made by politicians "are becoming increasingly hard to understand."

Asked about the methods thought best in getting their views across, 81 per cent said "writing", 15 per cent opted for "speeches" and 4 per cent for "other means". The local administration has cent favoured violence.

Only six per cent said that they followed of alternative movements. 42 per cent expressed sympathy for such movements (the quota of CDU followers).

The environmentalists among alternative movements were most popular: 74 per cent approved of them. Rockers and extreme nationalists each managed only a few per cent.

The survey showed that roughly the same number of people considered "peace" threatened by either of the superpowers: 39 per cent named the Soviet Union as the main threat, 38 per cent the United States.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 Feb.)

all began on Ash Wednesday. A popular daily issued a report on the miracle-working water in the wine-growing community of Ransbach in the Southern Palatinate.

and boy was claimed to have received his sight after the spring water been administered.

Since then, there have been almost reports containing more and more

thrills, headaches, slipped disc problems, growths on the arms; up to people are claimed to have been cured.

The wine produced by the villagers of Ransbach is called *Seligmacher* (which can mean blessed or tipsy in German).

Many "pilgrims" from all over Germany and from abroad have been making their way to see the Ransbach

and springs, a small place of pilgrimage discovered during excavation in 1973. Will the *Seligmacher* be joined by a

And off they go, dragging a small handcart with empty cans behind them. This is typical for many of the pilgrims.

Those who return beam all over their faces; they proudly present the vessels they have filled, bulbous Chianti bottles, crates of mineral-water bottles, petrol cans.

And all are proud of having waited ages, standing around in the cold, to reach their goal.

One man comes back with two empty cans: "Turn back, friends, there's nothing left. I waited nine hours since this morning, anyone who has just arrived will have to wait until mid-night." Despite this warning, no-one turns back, they wait undeterred.

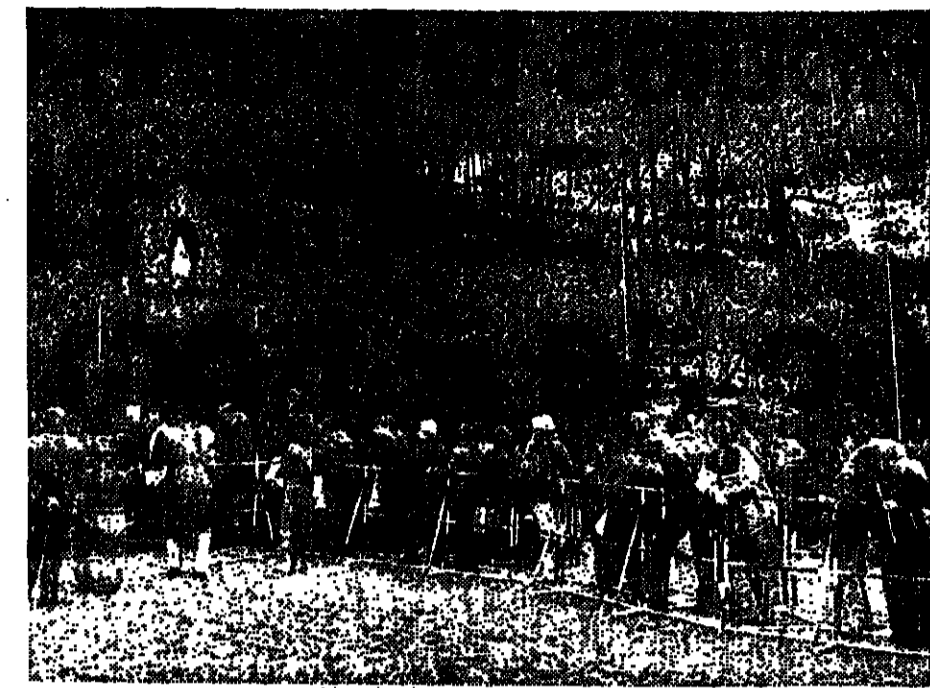
Undauntedly they wade through the mud and balance their way across small islands of ice.

Those returning tell an Italian waiting that he will have to wait ten hours. "That's a OK, I wait 'a twenty hours!" he replies with a smile on his face.

At the spring itself we find countless numbers of pilgrims in rows of three; a long and sluggish-looking queue winds its way through the woods.

It's cold and now and again someone slips onto the ground; the younger people in the queue help them onto their feet again.

They join the queue again — it



The queues are never-ending.

(Photo: Dieter Klein)

doesn't matter as long as they can get to the miracle water.

Everyone holds their can. Some of them have huge containers which can take as much as eighty litres. You've got to make the journey worthwhile.

Sometimes whole families can be seen, each family member holding a separate vessel. Up at the spring the coveted water flows out of three taps. Each tap provides 12 litres a minute, and you can work out how long it is before the next three patiently waiting persons get to the tap.

Most of them already drink a beaker of water while waiting. One mother gives her child something to drink.

Behind the crowds flocking to the spring we find more suffering than the desire for sensation.

Now and again the queue jolts forward a bit. Every time there's a satisfied sigh of relief as the queue moves forward.

A figure of the Virgin Mary hangs above the spring, beneath it the sculpture of a praying child, and there is indeed a grotto. There is an amazing similarity to Lourdes, and the village signpost also confirms this feeling: "To the Lourdes Grotto." Is Ransbach on its way to becoming a "Mini-Lourdes"? Or will the fuss die down four weeks after Ash Wednesday?

The mayor and a chain of hotels have definite ideas of how things should continue.

At a press conference in the community hall, the mayor said: "Up until a few days ago, Ransbach was a little wine-growing village. We have no tourist facilities, and we can't cope with the crowds for much longer. We receive innumerable requests for hotel beds.

Sometimes the applicants write to the spa's administration in Ransbach. They want to come here on a health cure and we hope to be able to make this possible very soon." He has already carried out negotiations with a chain of hotels, which intends building a hotel close to the spring with all the necessary facilities for health-cure holidays. He welcomes such plans — and

hopes that perhaps

will be granted to go ahead and build. Such a development would change the face of the community, creating sixty new jobs and providing new opportunities for young people...

The mayor is not worried about what is happening in Ransbach but optimistic. A representative of the chain of hotels outlined its plans.

Action was taken fast, almost overnight; now, equally speedy decisions were expected of the authorities.

The project is planned in such a way as to remain profitable even after the euphoria disappears.

Ransbach has the advantage of being in a beautiful area. Between the village and the spring there is an abundance of vineyards and romantic wood-scenery.

An idyllic spot for a hotel. According to the manager, plans focus on a hotel with 75 beds, avoiding the usual "gigantic dimensions" of such an operation.

The house is to "optimally" adjusted to the countryside and situated close to the spring itself. There will be rooms for therapeutic treatment, a restaurant and a "transparent pump room," all "geared to wheel-chairs" of course. He did not forget to mention a "house chapel."

After all, efforts have been made on a particular target group. Our business-man pointed to a building plan in front of him, showing a diagram of the front of the planned hotel. And in the outline we find the following intentions: "In view of the change in overall awareness" this project is seen as an opportunity "to provide many of those seeking a cure (I) to find the path back to themselves by prayer and administering of the soothing waters, embedded in the pleasant countryside and vineyards." Things are therefore taking shape very fast.

The mayor also confessed that he intends to ration the water at 5 litres per person so as to cut down the waiting period and avoid trouble. Water would then be handed out by local volunteers.

He also emphasises that he has never spoken of a "miracle spring" but only of "water which can heal."

However, don't the people who come here expect much more than what any other good water strong in mineral content can offer?

And haven't the plans included such hopes and expectations? Outside, a juggernaut has just arrived and 5,000 plastic cans unloaded. The sun is beginning to set and the queue in Ransbach is still as long as it was at mid-day.

Michael Fritzen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 28 February 1983)



After six hours, here at last.

(Photo: dpa)

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